XV

A FORTIFIED TOWER-HOUSE IN WĀDĪ JIRDĀN (WĀḤIDĪ SULTANATE) — I

By Brian Doe and R. B. Serjeant

(PLATES I–VIII)

In September 1964 we were able, after considerable difficulty, to reach the village al-Jinainah (al-Junainah) of Wādī Jirdān (which we had already visited earlier in the year along the spectacular new road from Wādī ʻAmaqīn). In the afternoon of that day and early next morning before leaving to return to ʻAtaq we made a brief survey of the tower known as al-Muqaiyad—the subject of this article. The visit being so hurried and part of the work being carried out after dark, we were not able to record everything in quite the detail we should have wished. We are much indebted to Lt.-Col. Adrian Donaldson, D.S.O., M.B.E., the C.O., and Major S. F. B. Francis, T.D., then of the 5th Battalion, Federal Regular Army, the latter escorting us to the mouth of Wādī Jirdān at ʻAyād̲h̲, and for the generous hospitality they gave us at ʻAtaq. We acknowledge with pleasure the courtesy of S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Ruwais b. Miḥsin b. Ḥasan Namārī Hilālī, Federal Councillor, who permitted us to survey the *ḥuṣn* and supplied us with much information on it, as also to his brother Ḥasan b. Miḥsin.

Wādī Jirdān, famed for its honey,[1] is one of the most beautiful valleys in South Arabia, rich in *mus̲h̲t* (*Polypodium crenatum*)[2] and *ʻilb* trees as well as other vegetation, with 12,000 *ḍamds* of arable land, and full of pre-Islamic ruins and inscriptions. It has already been described, on the basis of data supplied by informants, by Landberg,[3] on the whole very accurately. Near its mouth lies ʻAyād̲h̲/ʻAyād village and fort, visited by Philby[4] who reports that it is not a very old village, but in this he is mistaken. Certainly it is not mentioned in Hamdānī's *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-ʻArab* under this name, but a MS in possession of the late Qāḍī of Ḥuraiḍah, Saiyid ʻAlī b Sālim al-ʻAṭṭās, entitled *Manāqib al-S̲h̲aik̲h̲ ʻAbdullāh Bā ʻAbbād*, states that this saint (born 616/1219–20) of the celebrated ʻAbbād family, had followers in Jirdān, ʻAyād̲h̲, which is described as *qaryah bi-Jirdān*, S̲h̲abwah, Rak̲h̲yah, and Wādī Ḥaḍramawt. Again, Bal-Faqīh al-S̲h̲iḥrī[5] under the annals for the year 956/1549–50, speaks of the flight of Āl ʻĀmir to ʻAyād̲h̲ when threatened by the advance of the Kat̲h̲īrī Sulṭān on S̲h̲abwah. West of it stands the Salt Mountain, the revenues from which are a perpetual cause of dispute in the district; on our return we visited it also. On both occasions we visited the Manṣab of the Āl ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq, al-S͟haik͟h ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-Malik, in his village at al-Bāridah, who seems to be the *manqad* or appeal-judge meant by Hamilton [6] though his legal functions now appear to be much in abeyance. Al-Bāridah is the *ḥawṭat qabr ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq*, the sacred enclave of ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq's tomb, he being the ancestor of the family which possesses a *musawwadah* copy of his biography.

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[1] cf. R. B. Serjeant, *Prose and poetry from Ḥaḍramawt*, London, 1951, Engl. pref., 11, Ar. text, 80. The Manṣab of al-Bāridah offered us it like a sort of treacle which we ate by dipping the forefinger in it. The *Tāj al-ʻarūs*, ii, 319, quoting the *Takmilah*, places it between wādīs ʻAmaqīn and Ḥabbān, spelling it Jurdān, and adding that it has some castles (*quṣūr*).

[2] C. de Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, i, *Ḥaḍramoût*, Leiden, 1901, 349, from Forskål.

[3] *Arabica*, v, Leiden, 1898, 235 f.

[4] H. St. J. B. Philby, *Sheba's daughters*, London, 1939, 326.

[5] For these two authors cf. *BSOAS*, xiii, 3, 1950, 589, xxv, 2, 1960, 244, xiii, 2, 1950, 292 f.

Al-Jinainah village is situated on the edge of a hill, Ḥaid al-Jibail, which lies just above the point where the Wādī al-ʿAlhānah [7] from the south joins the Wādī Jirdān running in a westerly and slightly northern direction to ʿAyād͟h. Just below the village is the cultivated land (*ṭīn*), and on the hill-slope beyond it are *zarībahs* for animals with doors of the *s͟hijib* type [8] set in a wooden frame; there are also *zarībahs* for millet-cane called *mas͟hwā ḥaqq al-qaṣab* (plates I and III). Clay bats used as brick are made on the hill-slope above the village, and outside it is carried on the carpentry for the beams. *ʿIlb*-wood is used mostly, but another tree was also mentioned called *wadf* which is *imḍāḍ*, presumably the *muḍāḍ* of Landberg,[9] the *Grewia popolifolia* or *s͟hawḥaṭ*. *ʿIlb*-wood should be cut in the *s͟hitāʾ* season after *k͟harīf*.[10]

According to Landberg [11] al-Jinainah, which belongs to the Hal Ḥasan of Namārah, contained in his day, i.e. some 75 years ago, 10 *ḥuṣns* and some houses, but although there are *ḥuṣns* belonging to the Hal Ḥasan in the near vicinity at what would seem to be strategic points, there are only three in the actual village complex, Ḥuṣn Āl Jidʿān on the northern Wādī Jirdān side, al-Muqaiyad, nearest to the Wādī al-ʿAlhānah, and Ḥuṣn Bil-Qār. We noticed two large cisterns (*jābiyah*) in or close by the village excavated out of the ground, the older one (plate IV(*b*)) in the village, lined with local lime, and the very recent one with imported cement. These *ḥuṣns* would, it is to be supposed, be described as *zabīn*, i.e. *manīʿ*, strong, defensible. A *zaban* is defined as a *makān g͟hair murtafiʿ illā annah qawī*, a place not high, but strong, or a *makān murtafiʿ yatazabbanūn fīhi ʾl-nās*, a high place in which people fortify/defend themselves. From the number of storage rooms (*sufūl*) in al-Muqaiyad tower, it is to be deduced that during a siege the defenders would not lack for food, and water would be available from the cistern near-by.

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[6] (R.) A. (B.) Hamilton, *The kingdom of Melchior*, London, 1949, 154. His suggestion that this is part of the ancient legal system of Maʿīn is fanciful. Families in which the office of appeal-judge is hereditary exist in other places besides al-Bāridah.

[7] See H. v. Wissmann's map, *Aden Protectorate*, Sheet 1, 1 : 500,000, published by the Royal Geographical Society, London, 1957, co-ordinates 47°1′ × 14°14′. It was only possible partially to check the Arabic of the names of this map and this name supplied by S͟haik͟h Ruwais should be substituted for al-ʿAlh of the map. Additional names of hill features supplied by him are حيد القيمه to the north, جبل با زَرَارَه (for the map's J. Bazarah) to the south, and three names, الحيد الطويل، حيد الخَمْرُورَه، حيد جُنْذُب to the west.

[8] cf. E. Rossi, ʻ Terminologia delle costruzioni nel Yemen ʼ, *A Francesco Gabrieli*, Roma, 1964, 351–7, citing *s͟hujbah*, a little window, and *s͟hijʿ*, a door.

[9] *Glossaire daṯînois*, Leiden, 1920–42, 2699.

[10] cf. R. B. Serjeant, ʻ Star-calendars and an almanac from south-west Arabia ʼ, *Anthropos*, XLIX, 3–4, 1954, 456.

[11] *Arabica*, V, 243.

The Namārah tribe of the ancient Banī Hilāl, so famous for its epic of migration to North Africa, inhabits Wādī Jirdān,[12] and is divided into four houses (*diyār*), Āl Ḥasan, al-ʻĀṭif, al-Siraiʻ, and al-Ḍubāb. Other Hilālī tribes in near-by territories are the Khalīfah of al-Ḥāḍinah/Ḥāẓinah, the well-known Nisīyīn of Markhah, traditionally reputed to have acquired this name because they were forgotten or left behind in the great Hilālī migration, and the Āl Māḍī of Wādī ʻAmd in western Ḥaḍramawt.[13] The ancestor of all these Hilālī tribes is Numaiy, one of whose sons, Ṣāliḥ b. Numaiy is described as Ṣāḥib Markhah, the forbear of the Nisīyīn, and Numair b. Numaiy is the ancestor of the Jirdān Namārah. Bil-Qār is the ancestor of the Lamāḍī (Āl Māḍī), some of whom dwell in Jirdān, and Khalīfah b. ʻIlbah, whom they called after his mother (*sammaw-h bi-umm-ah*), is the ancestor of the Khalīfah. The Ilahīn [14] presumably the ʻIlih south of Jibāl al-Nisīyīn, are, they say, a section (*faṣīlah*) of the Banī Hilāl—*Iḥnā ikhwah* ʻWe are brothers'. Numair b. Numaiy was said to be amīr of all the Hilālīs, and today the *ʻāqil* of all the Banī Hilāl and shaikh of the Āl Ḥasan of the Namārah, Ṣāliḥ b. Saʻīd b. Muḥ b. ʻAlī b. Ḥasan, Qā'im al-Qadīmah, lives a little further down the wādī from al-Jinainah at al-Nuqaiyib.

There is much more to be said of the history of the Banī Hilāl in these parts where it remains a living memory, and where poems of the celebrated Hilālī cycle are still known, although no doubt the radio is fast killing the memory of them. As Jirdān lies in a region of ancient Arabian culture the Hilālī tradition is of very considerable interest. Qarn Barīrah,[15] a little eminence at the foot of the cultivation there, is said to be the ruins of a Hilālī village—there are three relatively recent buildings on it.

Nowadays at least, it seems that only in time of war does the family come into al-Muqaiyad tower, described as a *ḥuṣn ḥaqq Āl ʻAlī b. Ṭālib Āl Ḥasan al-Hilālīyīn*, and all live in the same room. *Waqt al-ḥuraibah*, the time of war, is contrasted with *waqt al-ʻāfiyah*, the time of peace (*ṣulḥ*) or security (*amān*), *ʻĀfiyah* seems to have been used in this sense in early Islam,[16] and also by the Ḥaḍramī historian Shanbal [17] in his annals for the year 913/1507–8 in the phrase, *ʻala 'l-ṭīb wa-'l-ʻāfiyah*.

Description of Ḥuṣn al-Muqaiyad (fig. 1)

We approached al-Muqaiyad and its enceinte by way of the perimeter track along the west side of the village, turning up the short lane on the right (plate II), paved with flat stones or rock called *ṣirf/ṣarf*, to the main gate (plate V(*a*)). On the wooden threshold (*mirdam*) of the gateway there was blood—an animal

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[12] cf. F. A. Mukhlis, *Studies and comparison of the cycles of the Banū Hilāl romance*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1964.

[13] *Prose and poetry*, 12.

[14] C. de Landberg, *Arabica*, IV, Leiden, 1897, 14 f.

[15] This place, which has been seen in a MS vocalized as Burairah, is discussed by H. von Wissmann, ʻ Al-Barīra in Ǧirdān ', *Le Muséon*, LXXV, 1–2, 1962, 177–209.

[16] cf. Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Minqarī, *Waqʻat Ṣiffīn*, second ed., Cairo, 1382/1962–3, 16, 99, *passim*.

[17] cf. *BSOAS*, XIII, 2, 1950, 291.

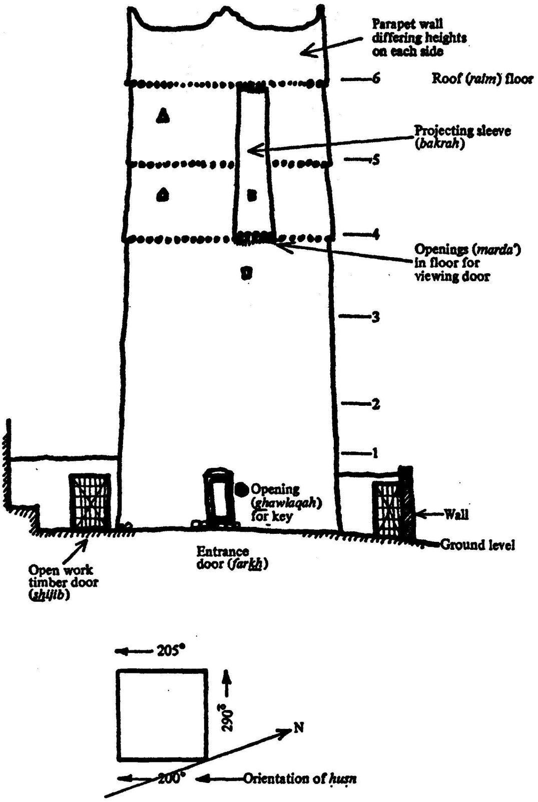
Parapet wall differing heights on each side
—6
Roof (raim) floor
Projecting sleeve (bakrah)
—5
—4
Openings (marda') in floor for viewing door
—3
—2
—1
Opening (ghawlaqah) for key
Wall
Ground level
Entrance door (farkh)
Open work timber door (shijib)
205°
290°
N
200°
Orientation of ḥuṣn

FIG. 1

had been sacrificed for *barakah*, which, for brevity's sake, may be rendered so as to obtain benign influence,[18] because of the *sikin*, household ghosts or *jinn*. A fettered woman, al-Muqaiyadah, they told us, goes up and down the stairs inside the *ḥuṣn*—hence its name—but no tale of why she should be haunting it was forthcoming. This may be one reason why people no longer actually live in it. In deference to this belief we abandoned the idea of spending the night there and bivouacked by the *wādī*-bed.

On the right-hand side of the entrance gate was a little cupboard-like door (*'alaqah*) [19] with some carving on it, set in the mud outer wall. This is opened so that the wooden key (*qilīd*) can be inserted in the wooden lock (*qaishamah*) [20] of a type common in Arabia, and, at one time, in other Arab countries such as

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[18] For *barakah* in general cf. E. Westermarck, *Pagan survivals in Mohammedan civilisation*, London, 1933, ch. iv and v.

[19] The Faḍlis also speak of *'alaqat siddah*, i.e. a wooden door-lock.

[20] cf. Landberg, *Ḥaḍramoût*, 690, *qāshimah*, boîte de la serrure en bois. It was described as, مزلاج صغير طولها تقريبًا شبر ونصف ، والعرض أربع بنانين.

Egypt[21] also, up to fairly modern times. The lock which is sketched as it appears from the *inner* side of the entrance gate (fig. 2) consists of a sliding bolt (*milsin*),[22] shown here in the open position; when it is pushed home to the right, wooden teeth fall into holes on its upper surface and hold it in position. The bolt can be released and drawn to the left, when a jaw-bone shaped key is inserted, via the opening at the end-block of the *milsin*, under the holes, the pegs on the upper surface of the key then pushing up the teeth which have engaged in the holes, thus allowing the *milsin*-bolt to run freely back. Arabs may often be seen with the wooden key stuck in the belt, behind the dagger perhaps, if they are armed.

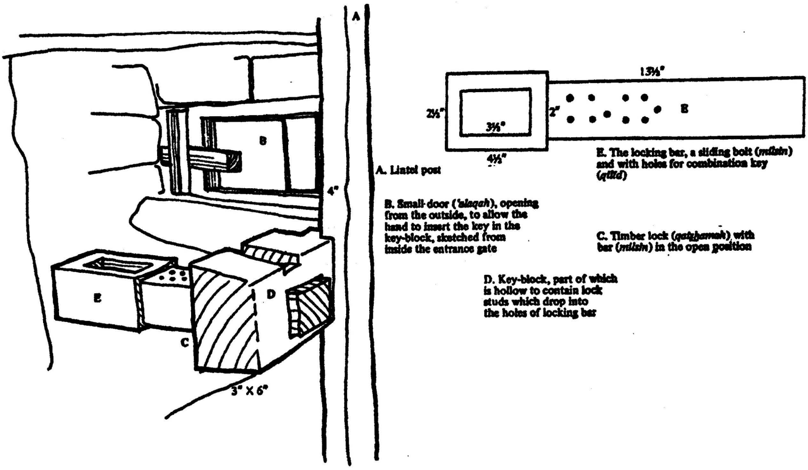
A
13½"
2½"
3½"
2"
E
4½"
A. Lintel post
E. The locking bar, a sliding bolt (*milsin*) and with holes for combination key (*qilīd*)
B
4"
B. Small-door (*'alaqah*), opening from the outside, to allow the hand to insert the key in the key-block, sketched from inside the entrance gate
C. Timber lock (*qaṭḥamah*) with bar (*milsin*) in the open position
D. Key-block, part of which is hollow to contain lock studs which drop into the holes of locking bar
E
D
C
3" x 6"

FIG. 2. Drawing of lock at gate of al-Muqaiyad enceinte

Almost everywhere in south-west Arabia one finds the metal padlock made in the Yemen, the G͟hut͟haimī lock.[23] In the northern Yemen one sees actual locks of local manufacture with a very long key, and people still seem indeed to make these nowadays.

To revert now to the entrance gate to al-Muqaiyad enceinte, it may be perceived that into the clay of the wall over the gate, as also over other gates external or internal, thorns have been set—this is called *taḥbīr*. One assumes these thorns are intended as protection against wild animals. The wooden gate (*siddah*) consists of perpendicular planks bound by horizontal cross-pieces known as *al-zawāfir ḥaqq al-siddah,* and by decorated iron flanges. The knocker (*ḥilqah*) has a clapper (*mismār al-ḥilqah*). A *suqqāṭah* is a bolt on the top of the gate.

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[21] E. W. Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London, 1895, 38.

[22] Perhaps equivalent to *malsan* of *Gloss. daṯ.*, 2629, ' boucle '.

[23] cf. *Arabica*, v, 89. Writing over 75 years ago, Landberg says the G͟hut͟haim make these locks in Ṣan'ā'; this is not so now, nor are they made at Ṣa'dah. He says they used to be made in Wādī 'Ain in Baiḥān al-Asfal, and that traditionally there was an iron industry in Baiḥān and Ḥarīb, and suggests this is an ancient pre-Islamic industry. Cf. also R. B. Serjeant, ' A metal padlock and keys from South Arabia ', *Man*, LIX, 1959, no. 65, p. 49. Regulations for the manufacture of wooden locks may be found in R. Levy (ed.), *The Ma'ālim al-qurba . . . of . . . Ibn al-Ukhuwwa* (' Gibb Memorial ' Series, NS, XII), London, 1938, Ar. text, 237 (288), Engl. abstract, 95.

The precincts of the *ḥuṣn* are a complex of yards, stables, and other domestic buildings, but, while the photographic mosaics give a general impression of the layout, we had too short a time to ascertain precisely how much of this constitutes the appurtenances of al-Muqaiyad, and to what extent and why there is intercommunication with other properties.

Passing through the entrance gate to enter the yard, one is confronted by a heap of night-soil from the lavatory, showing as a projection in the wall of the *ḥuṣn* in the front of plate II, along with the gutter which carried off liquid separately to spill on to the open yard. The stones lying about this part of the yard may possibly have been employed for cleansing, though, in Ḥaḍramawt, clods of hard earth (*fuqsh*) from the field usually serve for this purpose.

To the right of the entrance gate is a court (*ḥawsh*, pl. *ḥawaish*) for sheep and goats (*ghanam*), with a stair leading to a roofed stable (*sirih*) also for *ghanam.* Inside the stable is a *mīfā* oven (plate V(*b*)) for making *khubz*, Arab bread, and a fire-place (*mawqid*); there are recesses (*ṭāqah*) in the walls for shelves, wooden pegs (*watad*) set in the walls for hanging things, and, in both the *ḥuṣn* and outbuildings, poles (*miṭwāḥ*) [24] running from wall to wall, upon which they hung carpet-bedding (*firāsh*), etc. The pillars of wood in these buildings to hold up cross-beams are called *rakīzah* (pl. *rakāyiz*) and the capital (*kabsh*) [25] is called here *rās al-rakīzah.*[26] Rue (*ḥarmal*) [27] and *qaraḍ* (*Euphorbia garad.*) are pounded in here on a stone, the latter, or perhaps both, used in tanning (*lidmān*).[28] Upon the smooth clay walls were smears of *qaraḍ* where the tanners had wiped their hands to clean up after the process of tanning. Either in this stable or one of the other large rooms next to it were some very large jars for storage purposes, and a large cauldron (*burmah*) of an unusual squarish shape. Bundles of millet-cane (*qaṣab*), mainly used for animal fodder, lie pitched down in the court. In this district camels were formerly used for transport, as is still the case to a more limited extent, but they had no horses. Horses are in any case rare in south-west Arabia, and were only used for riding.

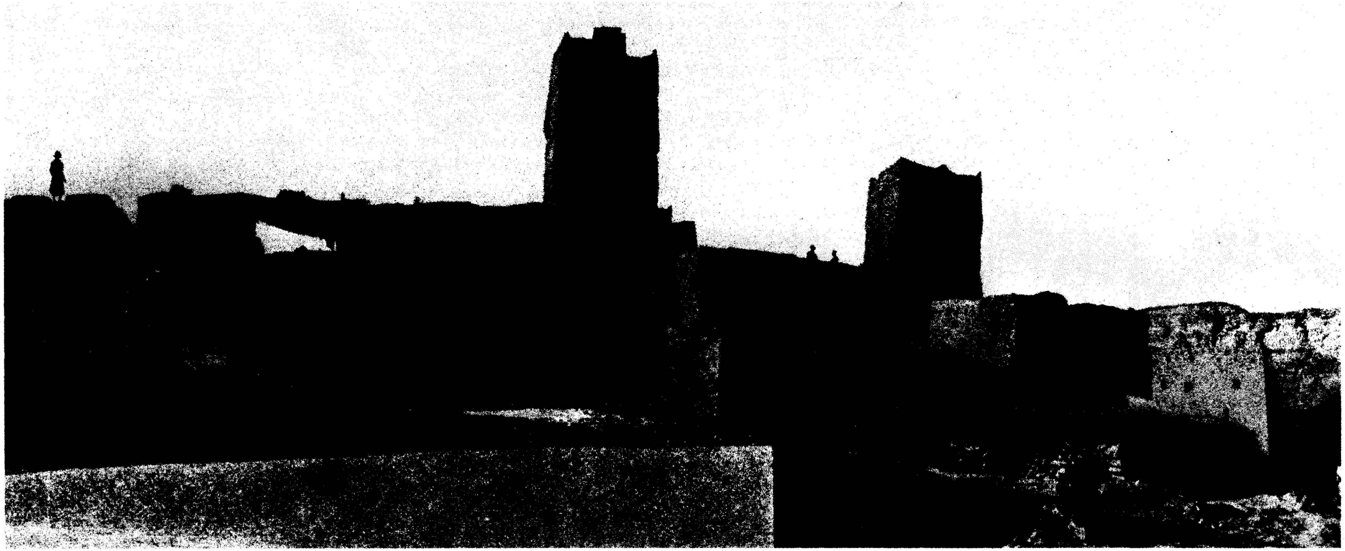
[24] Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdullāh al-Khaṭīb al-Anṣārī al-Tarīmī (ob. 1352/1933–4), *al-Fatāwā al-nāfi'ah fī masā'il al-aḥwāl al-wāqi'ah,* Cairo, 1960, 104, writes, متاوح, if this be the same word ?

[25] For *kabsh* in this sense, cf. Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-khillān fī ḥawādith al-zamān,* Cairo, 1962–4, II, 117.

[26] cf. R. B. Serjeant, ' Building and builders in Ḥaḍramawt ', *Le Muséon,* LXII, 3–4, 1949, 281, 283, where the *rakīzah* has the shape of a formalized palm-tree.

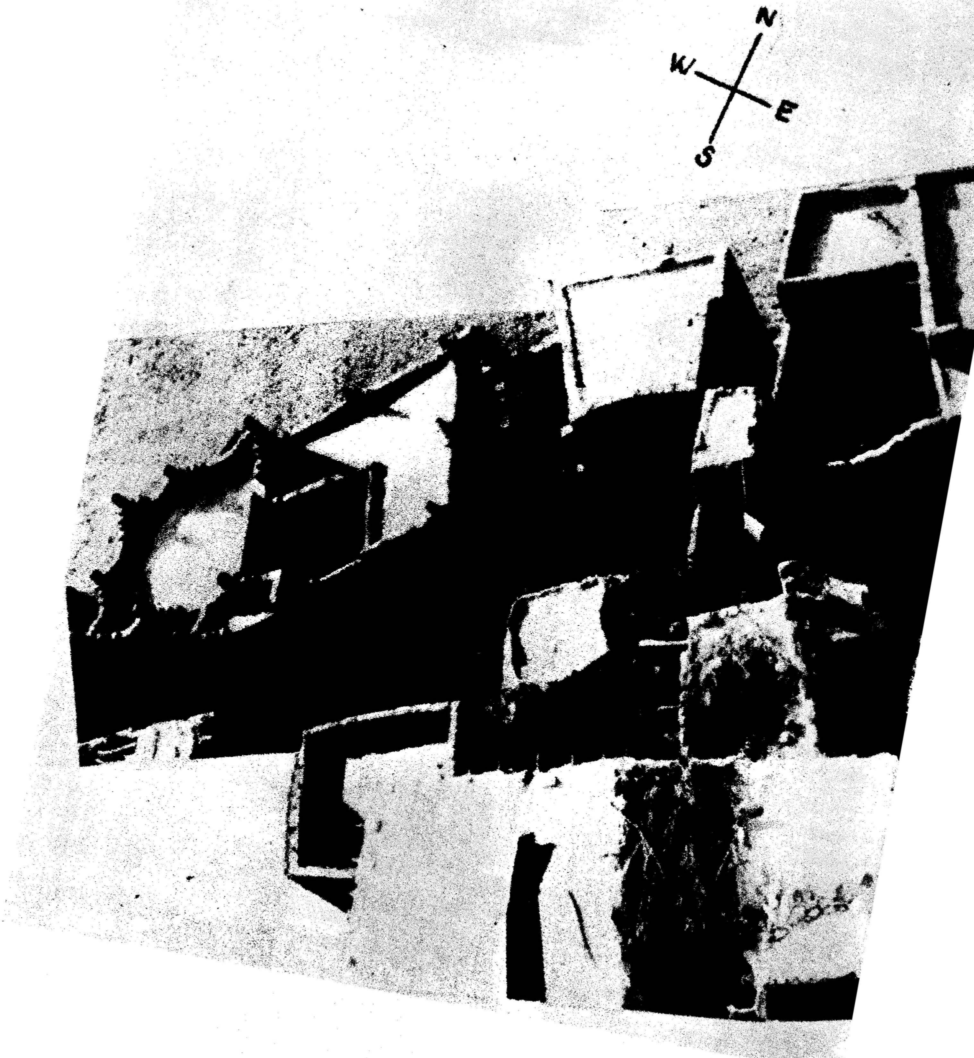
[27] The medical uses of *ḥarmal* are described by Yūsuf b. 'Umar . . . b. Rasūl al-Ghassānī, *al-Mu'tamad fī 'l-adwiyat al-mufradah,* second ed., Cairo, 1951, 92. The author, writing towards the close of the seventh/thirteenth century, does not, however, mention that it is used in tanning.

[28] *Damān* in this sense does not appear to be reported elsewhere and its ordinary sense is ' dung ', which is used in tanning in, at least, parts of South Arabia.



For description, see p. 23

Plate I



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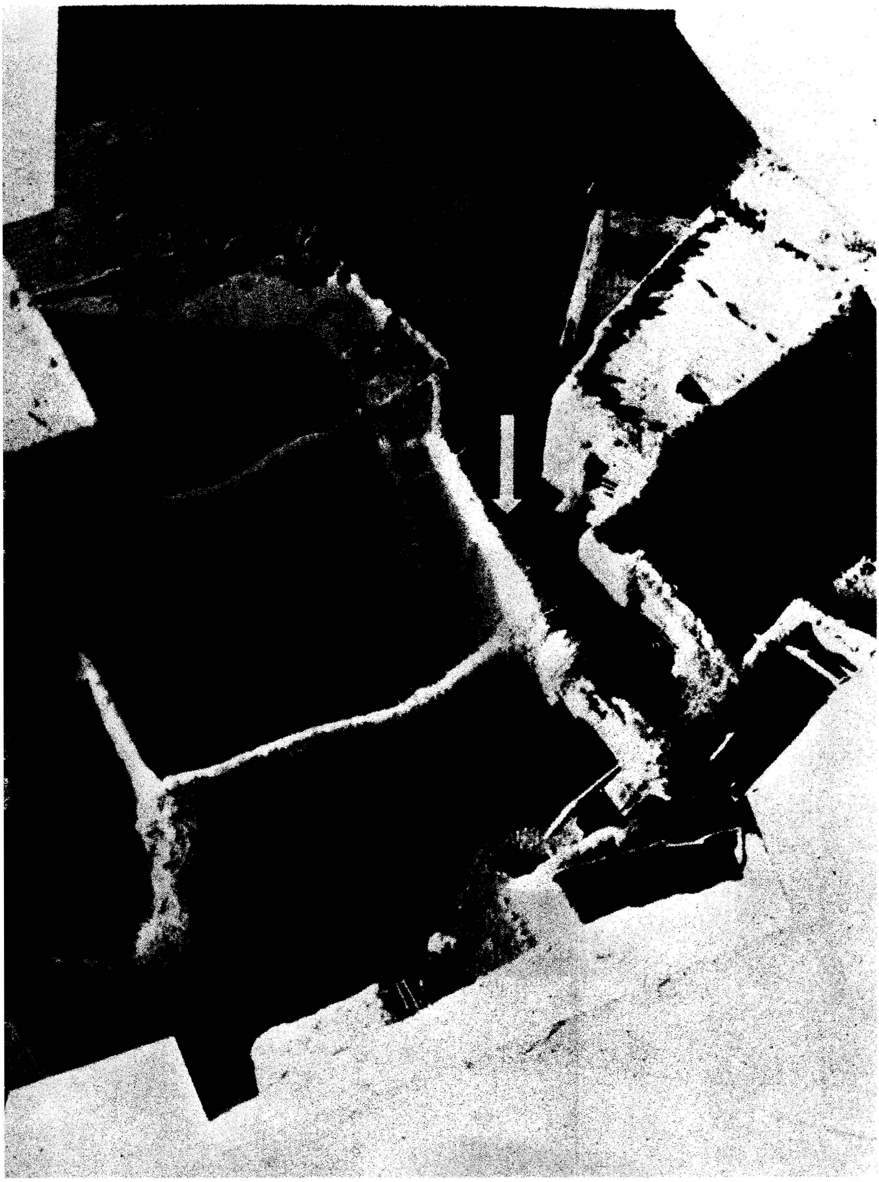

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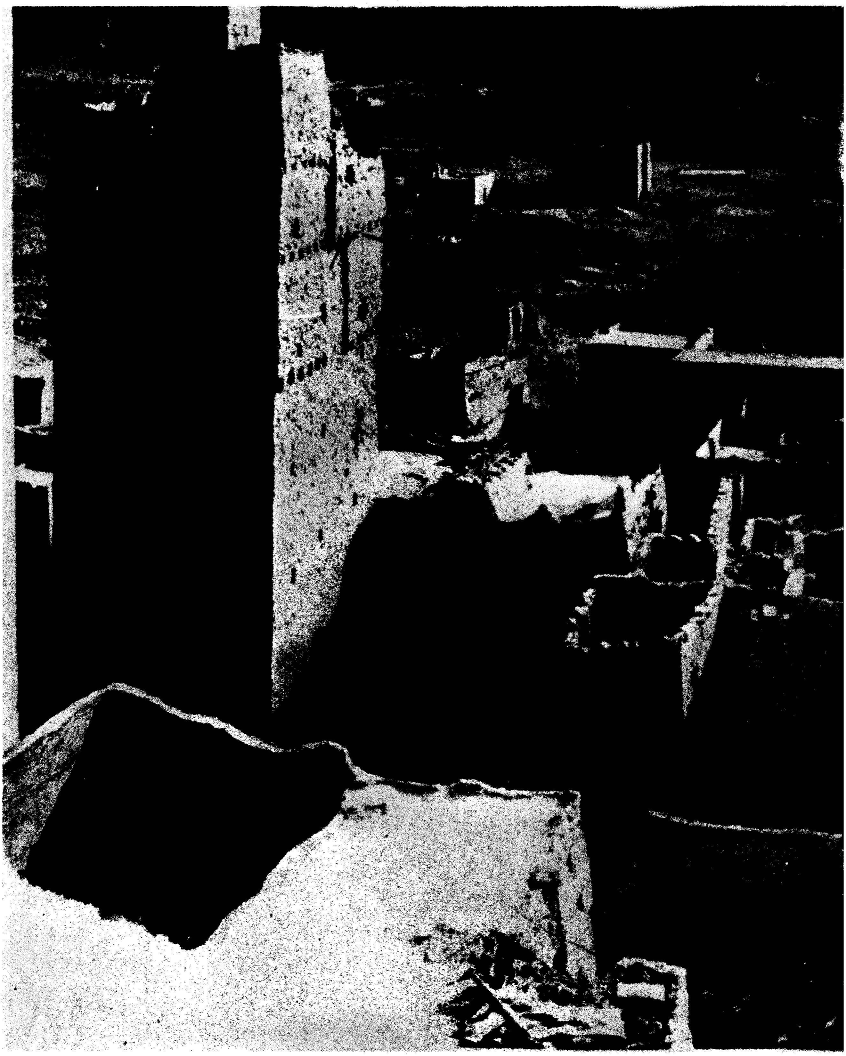

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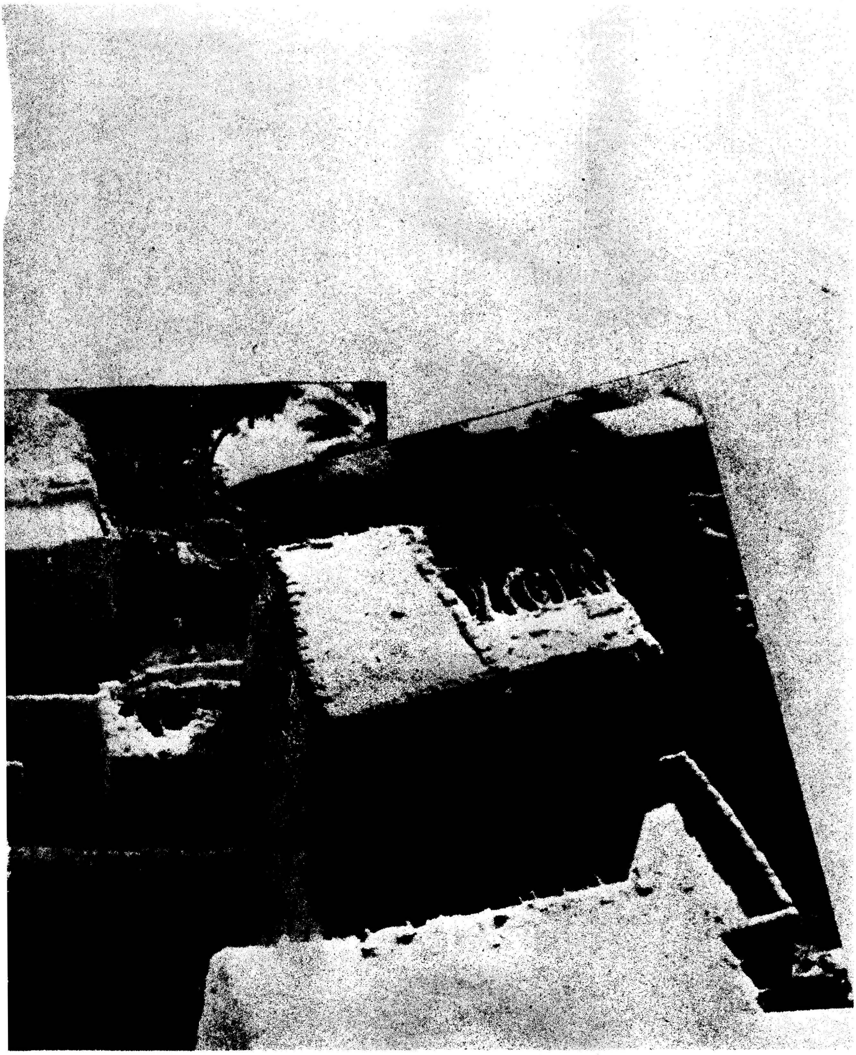
PLATE III



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(a)

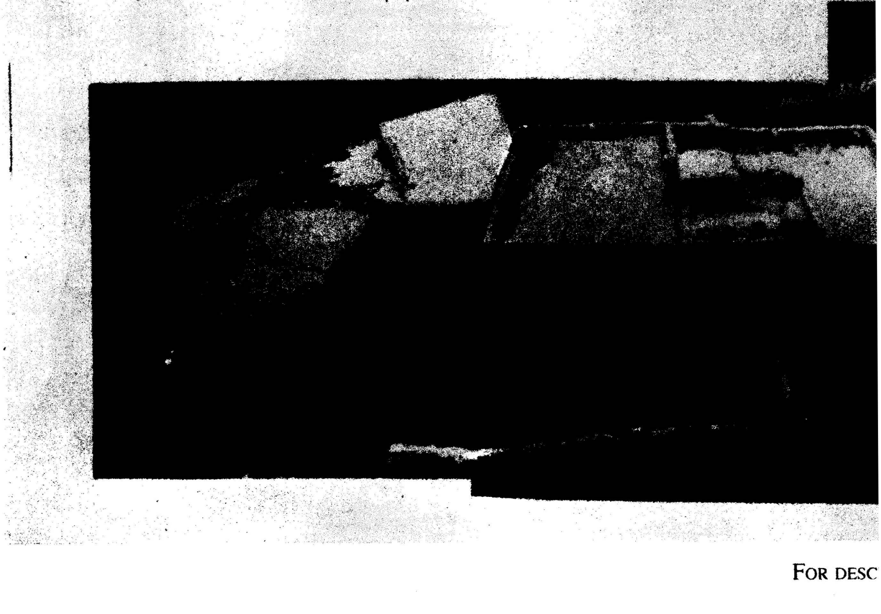

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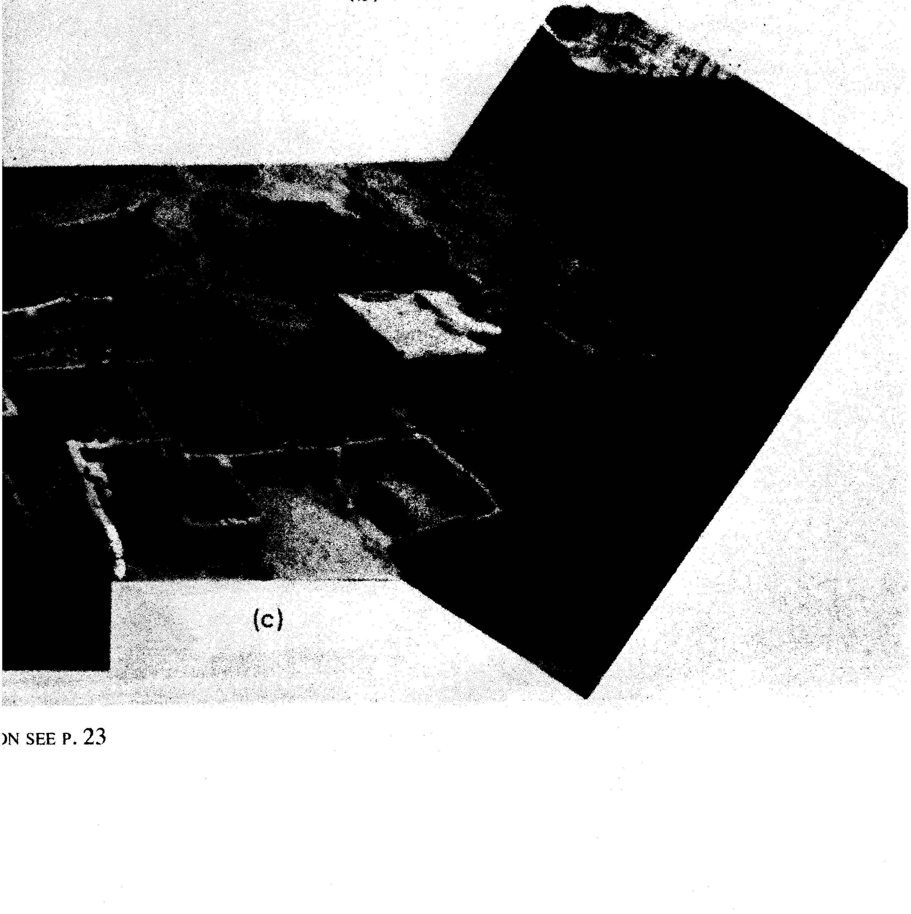
PLATE IV

(b)



(c)

N SEE P. 23

Plate V

(a) (b)

For description, see p. 23

Agricultural instruments we saw in various places in the outbuildings included a sort of mallet (*mifjāḥ*) to break up clods of earth (*jaḥal*) in the fields, a wooden pitch-fork (*mis͟h'abah*) fig. 3, made of *'ilb* to carry fodder, an axe-head (*fās*) fig. 4, a small well-pulley wheel (*dirjah*).

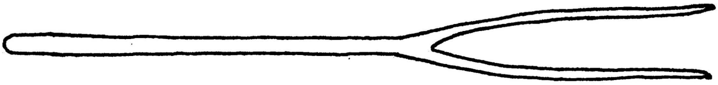


FIG. 3. Pitch-fork (*mis͟h'abah*) of *'ilb*-wood

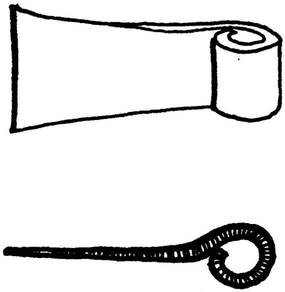


FIG. 4. Axe-head (*fās*)

On the roof of an adjacent building (plate II) is lying a heavy rug (*farīqah*); these are mostly of black goat-wool, but other natural colours are used here also. Woollen balls are lying about, obviously for weaving carpets of this type which, with local variations, are to be seen all up the eastern side of the Yemen, in K͟hawlān, 'Ayāl Siraiḥ, etc. In Baiḥān these are called *farīq*, but, in some other parts of the country, *ḥanābil*. In Baiḥān, according to a fairly recent press notice, black goat-hair is dearer than sheep's wool, and it takes a whole day to make one *ḥanbal*, working from dawn to dusk. Baiḥān is also famous for making *ḥabawāt* (sing. *ḥabwah*), the bands of cloth the tribesmen loop round the knees and small of the back when sitting on their haunches, but coloured bands are now imported, probably from Japan, as well.

In the second court on the right, a covered doorway leads off to a dwelling-house which has, on the left of the entrance to its yard, a privy, the spoil of which would be removed by way of the short re-entrant from the perimeter track. Just before the covered door-way there is a small covered stable with a wooden *kalb* (fig. 5) set in the wall to which a donkey can be tethered; this has a

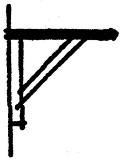


FIG. 5. Wooden *kalb* for tethering donkey

barred or slatted door of the type known as *shijib*, the side-posts being called *bakarah*. A *shijib* can be seen in plate I, the slats mostly made of palm-*jarīds*.

The stone foundation plinths of the *ḥuṣn* and its outbuildings are known as *sās* and the clay wall above is called *jadar*. These walls are constructed of sun-dried clay bats (*libnah*) measuring approximately 19 in. × 12 in. × 3 in. thick, the corresponding size in ʻAyādh being 17–18 in. × 12 in. × 2½ in. The bats are made of mud (*khulb*) [29] mixed with straw of the millet known as *ṭahaf/ṭuhuf* (*Eragrostis abyssinica*) [30] to form a mixture known as *ḍiyād*. The spaces in the rough clay bat wall of dry *libn* bricks are filled in with soft *khulb* puddled for this purpose into a paste, and smoothed over. The interior wall surfaces after being plastered with mud are often, in the case of living and reception rooms, whitewashed with *nūrah*, though not in this *ḥuṣn*. The action of applying the smooth surface to the wall is called *maḥaḍ*, the wall then being described as constructed of *libn mamḥūḍah*; this finish is carried about half-way up the *ḥuṣn*. Signs of weathering seem to show on the walls of the upper storeys of the *ḥuṣn* which is, after all, to judge by the dated lintel, over two and a quarter centuries old, but in Saiwūn of Ḥaḍramawt, one or two mud houses are reckoned to have stood for no less than five centuries.

In all three towers the ends of the beams supporting the floors of the three top storeys project a few inches outside the walls. A narrow wooden shelf has been run along the top of each row of beam-ends in order to throw the rain off the walls beneath; we registered no name for these shelves. Flat stones (*ṣalīl*) defined as *lā ḥajar wa-lā ṭīn*, neither stone nor clay, Landberg's [31] ʻ dalles plates ʼ, are used to proof the parapets against rain with which, then it seems, Jirdān must be well favoured. We cannot ever recollect seeing in this district the elaborate thick polished plaster-work of the larger towns in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, and even the roof of the *ḥuṣn* was of mud over the retaining flat *ṣalīl* stone. Nor in al-Jinainah do we remember seeing windows and other apertures picked out in whitewash as is so common in other districts of the Federation and the Yemen. Where the neighbouring Upper ʻAwlaqī territory is concerned, Mubārak ʻAbdullāh al-Ṭawṣalī stated that it was only on such festive occasions as a marriage that this whitewash was applied. The windows are small and set low down, quite near the floor—upon which people sit on rugs or palm-leaf mats, reclining on cushions. Windows consist of a simple frame with a central mullion, and are fitted, on the outside, with small wooden shutters.

[29] Defined by *Gloss. daṯ.*, 628, as ʻ terre mélée d'eau, boue compacte et visqueuse produite par la pluie ou le sel ʼ. A Yemeni informant described *khulab* [*sic*] as *al-turāb al-maʻjūn bi ʼl-māʼ*, in words similar to *al-Jawhar al-shaffāf* of ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Khaṭīb. SOAS photocopy, tale, 432. *Bughl* is a Mukallā word for a mixture of clay and dung.

[30] cf. G.B. Naval Intelligence Division, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London, 1946, 482, 595.

[31] *Arabica*, v, 239. This appears to be an ancient word if the suggestion of Professor A. F. L. Beeston, ʻ The ritual hunt ʼ, *Le Muséon*, LXI, 3–4, 1948, 190, regarding inscription Philby 84, be accepted. It is Yemeni colloquial Arabic. Cf. al-Ānisī, *Tarjīʻ al-aṭyār*, ed. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Iryānī and ʻAbdullāh . . . al-Aghbarī al-Fāʼishī, Cairo, 1369/1949–50, 312: — الصلال جمع صلالة حجرة التى يصل بها القبر — اى يبلط.

In an earlier article (see p. 6, n. 26) attention has already been drawn to the wooden columns carved to represent a formalized palm-tree, degenerating in Ḥaḍramawt often into so abstract a form as not to be recognizable as such. On the external mud and plaster decoration of some of the older houses, that of the late Saiyid Ṣāliḥ b. ʻAlī al-Ḥāmidī for example, palm motives in shallow relief were used. The window of traditional type, however, is yet more obviously a representation of the two plants most essential to the Ḥaḍramī, the palm and *d̲h̲urah* millet. In the typical windows (plate VI) photographed in 1964 in Saiyid ʻAlī b. ʻAqīl's house in Saiwūn, the mullion unquestionably represents a palm trunk, the rough patterned surface being rendered into a neat fretted design, while the fretting of the lower half of the window is a stylized representation of a millet field, the larger lozenges being the heads of millet. The cross-bar is less easily explainable, unless it be the top of a more distant field of millet indicated in a sort of primitive perspective ! In northern Yemen a constantly recurring motive, especially in external plaster-work, and notably on mosques and their domes, seems to be the young *d̲h̲urah* plant. Perhaps these motives had some religious significance in pre-Islamic Arabia if one may assume they were used on ancient buildings. In al-Muqaiyad, however, the windows are of simple rectangular shape and uncarved.

A projecting sleeve (*bakrah*) shows on the east flank of the *ḥuṣn* over its only door, at the lower end of which is a machicolation for defence so that the doorway can be commanded by firearms, while a second *bakrah* on the west flank forms part of the garde-robe. The main construction of the *ḥuṣn* is entirely of mud with, of course, wooden rafters and frames for doors and windows.

The *ḥuṣn* has a single door centred in the east side (plate VII and fig. 6) with a few steps leading up to it. The clay sill underneath the door-frame is called *maqwā* [32] and the wooden base of the frame *musāʻid al-lānah*, the jambs or side-posts *lānah*, and the top *mirdam*. The door, known as *fark̲h̲*,[33] four feet high, is constructed of thick *ʻilb*-wood like the entrance gate, i.e. with vertical planks held together by carved cross-bars and strengthened with decorated iron flanges or mountings. The cross-bars are fastened to the door with the large round-headed nails [34] (often coated with shiny tin) commonly used in Ḥaḍramawt. The door and the planks above it are carved, the latter with an inscription in the archaic native script of the country which one sees along with other pre-Islamic, graffiti in numerous places on rocks or masonry, as well as in the handwriting of older men today, though it is unfortunately disappearing owing to the teaching of *ruqʻah* in the new schools, with, perhaps, the erroneous notion that it is somehow superior. The Arabic, which was deciphered with the aid of Ruwais b. Miḥsin al-Raiyis—as far as was possible, runs as follows.

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[32] From our notes it is regrettably not quite certain that the *maqwā* is the clay under the wooden sill, and the vocalization of *musāʻid* is also dubious.

[33] *Fark̲h̲* commonly means a bastard, as well as a chicken.

[34] The Museum of Ethnology, Cambridge, has an example of this kind of nail.

XV

10

سنة خمس واربعين بعد مايه والف
ومن كان مع الله كان الله معه وغفر له

الحمد لله وحده بسلــخ   محمد الفقير الى الله صالح
شهر رجب تاريــخ . . .   بن طاهر . . . غفر الله له

'Year 1145 A.H. [1732 A.D.]. Whosoever is with God, God is with him and pardons him. Praise to God alone. The end of the month of Rajab, date . . . [part broken off]. Muḥammad the faqīr ilā Allāh, Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭāhir . . . [illegible to us]—God pardon him'.

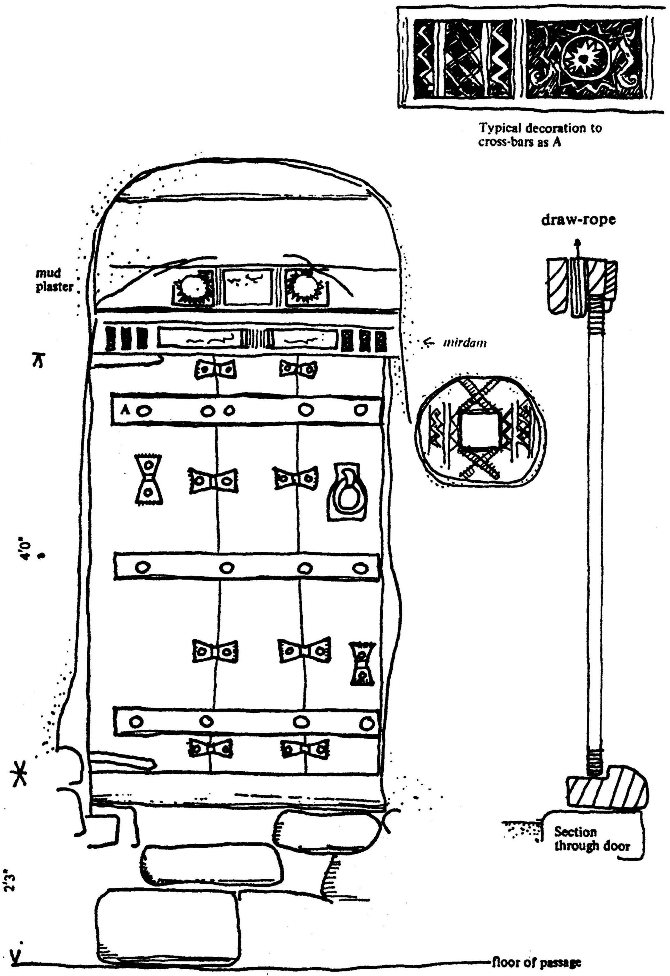
Typical decoration to cross-bars as A
draw-rope
mud plaster
mirdam
A
4'0"
2'3"
Section through door
floor of passage

Fig. 6

This Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ was not known to Ruwais, so it would seem that the very memory of him has perished unless his name be found still preserved in some local book of genealogies—which is not impossible.

The small hole to the right of the door into which the hand is inserted to place the key in the lock was called *ghawlaqah*; it is similar to the larger hole at the entrance gate in all respects. On the inside of the door are three locks or bolts, the *qaishamah* which was also described as *iqlīd*, the *marfaḍah*-bolt, and the bolt at the top side of the door termed *ghalq*. A draw-rope is attached to the door so that it can be opened from an upper room, and as we recorded no special name for it, the Ḥaḍramī term *majarr* was probably used.

The interior of al-Muqaiyad

Al-Muqaiyad consists of a ground-floor (*al-siddah*), above which are five storeys (*qaṣr*) as well as a roof floor called here and in Ḥaḍramawt *raim*, an ancient word found in a pre-Islamic inscription from Baiḥān.[35] Upon this *raim* is set a little square turret, in a ruinous state in al-Muqaiyad but still perfectly preserved in the other two towers.

1. The ground floor (*al-siddah*) (fig. 7)

A passage, called *al-siddah* runs straight from the door to the stairs at the back of the *ḥuṣn*, thus dividing the ground floor into two halves. The area at the foot of the stairs is called *bāb al-siddah*. Abū ʻUbaid al-Qāsim b. Sallām al-Harawī (d. 224/838)[36] defines *al-suddah* as *al-saqīfah fawq bāb al-dār*, and again he says it means *al-bāb nafsu-hu*. This sense appears to apply here, though one assumes that the ground floor is called *al-siddah* because it contains the door, or more usually the gate, to the house. The floor is, as in the rest of the house, made of mud.

On the right, as one enters the door, is a quern (*maṭhan*) for grinding grain and, in Wāḥidī country, the guest on the upper floors, while he is yet drinking *qishr*-coffee and eating dates, will hear stone ringing on stone as the *dhurah* is ground to make the good coarse meal bread to entertain him. The sheep selected for his meal by his host is brought into the reception room for him to approve, feeling its belly for fatness, before it is slaughtered outside. As the family, were al-Muqaiyad inhabited, sleeps on the ground floor during the winter cold, all their household gear (*māʻūn*) is kept here in the *sifl* rooms, such as the *minḥāz* or mortar for pounding the coffee bean and spices, and their bedding (*firāsh*), though this latter is generally hung on the pole (*miṭwāḥ*) running above, behind, and parallel with the door, across the passage from one wall to the other.

On each side of the main passage are two doors leading into the four rooms (*sifl*, pl. *sufūl*) of the ground floor, the *sifl* under the stair on the left having a very small low door. A *khalfah* is a little recess or *ṭāqah* in a *sifl*, but there is

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[35] cf. R. LeBaron Bowen and F. P. Albright, *Archaeological discoveries in South Arabia* (Publications of the American Foundation for the Study of Man, II), Baltimore, 1958, 143–4 (Jamme 405). Cf. *al-Fatāwā al-nāfiʻah*, 269, where *raim* means *saṭḥ*, roof.

[36] *K al-ajnās*, ed. Imtiyāz ʻAlī ʻArshī, Bombay, 1938, 28.

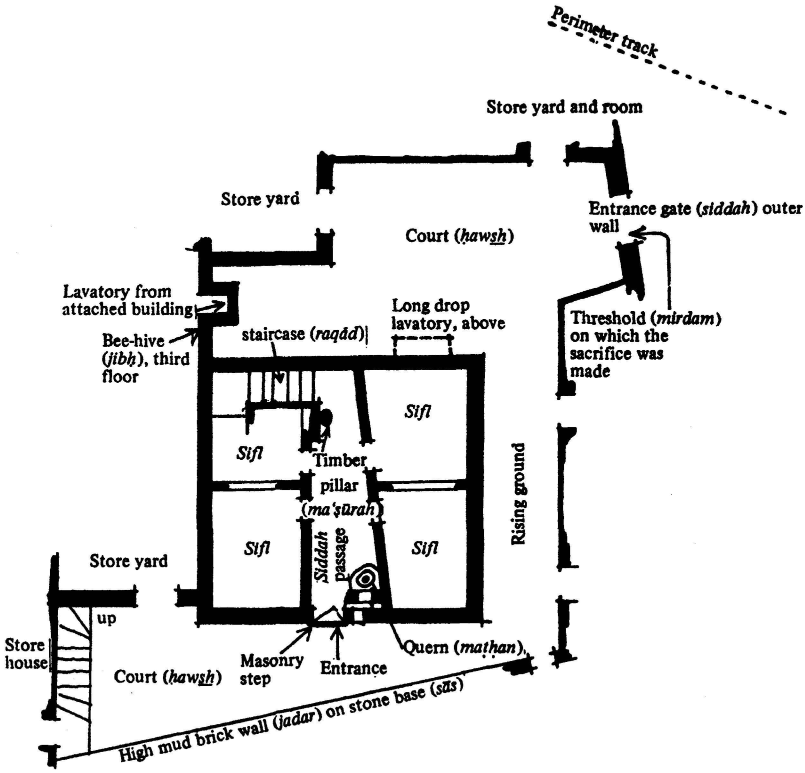
Perimeter track
Store yard and room
Store yard
Court (ḥawsh)
Entrance gate (siddah) outer wall
Lavatory from attached building
Long drop lavatory, above
staircase (raqād)
Bee-hive (jibḥ), third floor
Threshold (mirdam) on which the sacrifice was made
Sifl
Sifl
Timber pillar (ma'ṣūrah)
Rising ground
Store yard
Sifl
Siddah passage
Sifl
up
Store house
Court (ḥawsh)
Masonry step
Entrance
Quern (maṭhan)
High mud brick wall (jadar) on stone base (sās)

FIG. 7. Ground floor plan with outer gate and gates to storage yards

nowhere on the ground floor a window or aperture, for security reasons obviously, and this would also keep the floor warm in the winter. In the *sifl* grain (*ḥabb*, *ṭa'ām*) and other things would be stored. Animals do not come inside the *sufūl* of houses here as they do in some of the bigger domestic buildings of northern Yemen and in parts of the Federal sultanates, but remain outside in the courts (*aḥwāsh*) around the house.

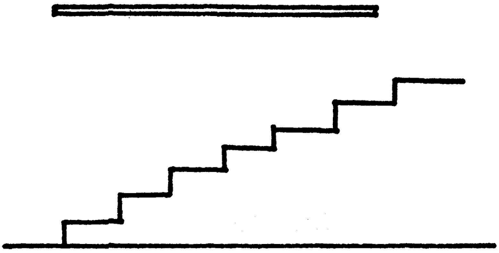

FIG. 8. Stairs (*dirij/diraj* or *raqād*) leading from the ground floor passage (*siddah*) with a shelf (*siff*) running along the stair-wall

The stairs (*diraj* or *raqād*, fig. 8) are set round a sort of pier or column (*ma'ṣūrah*) in the south-west corner of the house which runs up through all the floors to the roof. A sort of shelf (*siff*) is, in places, run along a side-wall of the staircase, parallel with the floor. *Ṣarḥ* is the name of the transverse wooden support of short thin split logs or branches which holds the mud steps of the stair.

2. *The first floor* (fig. 9)

This comprises four small and very dark *sufūl* rooms with low doors, used for the storage of grain or goods, and kept locked. There are no windows or apertures on this floor either, and the darkness, were an enemy to enter the *ḥuṣn* in daytime, would operate in favour of the inmates who can see their way about, while a person entering from the glare outside has to grope his way.

3. *The second floor* (fig. 10)

There are three *sufūl* rooms on this storey, and apertures only, for light, called *mishwāf* (pl. *mashāwīf*) [37] to admit light or to act as loop-holes. In the passage outside the rooms which were locked, was a heap of fine dust (*turāb*)—they bury grain in this dust so that it will not go bad. The types of grain which would be stored in this way would be millet (*dhurah*), *musaibilī* (*Setaria italica*), *dukhn* or bulrush millet, and *ṭahaf*.

4. *The third floor* (fig. 11)

This floor contains two *sufūl*,[38] one of which is the lavatory (*ṭahārah*, fig. 12), called, in some parts of Ḥaḍramawt at least, *makhwāl* (pl. *makhāwīl*).[39] There is a little antechamber which might be used to house the large water jars (*zīr*) of fired clay, the water being employed for general domestic purposes, though to obtain cool water for drinking, a goatskin will be hung up in a current of air. This is separated by a partition-screen (which, though we recorded no specific name for it, might be called *mūfir*), from the actual garde-robe. As remarked earlier the garde-robe projects over the entrance-court—the technical term *bakrah*,[40] applied to this projection, seems properly to apply to any piece of the

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[37] Muḥ. b. Hāshim, *Tārīkh al-dawlat al-Kathīrīyah*, Cairo, 1948, 160, calls the *mishwāf*, كوّة صغيرة أو ثقب نافذ ى الجدار يوضع فيه عنق البندقيّة ويطلق منه الرصاص.

[38] The slight discrepancy between our notes and the plan here, the latter showing three rooms, arises from our being unable to enter the locked rooms but on the basis of the doors two are assumed.

[39] Saif al-Qu'aiṭī, *al-Amthāl wa 'l-aqwāl al-Ḥaḍramīyah*, MS in Ḥaidarābād, India, 106, reports a proverb, ومنساير الدجاج دخلن به المخاويل 'one who accompanies poultry will be taken by them into lavatories'. Hens are always to be seen in Ḥaḍramawt pecking around the foot of the 'long drop'. This may be why tribal people often regard them as unfit for eating. The sense of the proverb is presumably that if one keeps bad or worthless company it will bring one into trouble. Al-Qu'aiṭī calls the *makhwāl* '*bait al-ṭahārah*'. The word is used in Tarīm.

[40] A question sent to Saiyid 'Alawī b. 'Abdullāh . . . Āl al-Shaikh Bū Bakr in Aden produced the reply that *bakrah* was where the beam was placed to build the *saqf*, ceiling, which is a possible sense from other comparative material, but it is difficult to accept this here. He also considers *marda'* to be an error for *m r d m* which he defines as a hole in the *bakrah*, but this is also difficult to accept.

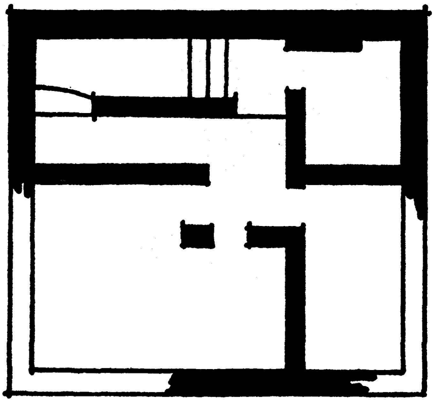
Small dark rooms
(*sufūl*) used for
storage

Fig. 9.
First floor

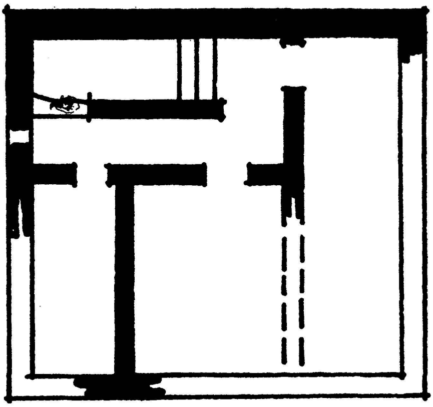
Grain store
Storage rooms
(*sufūl*)

Fig. 10.
Second floor

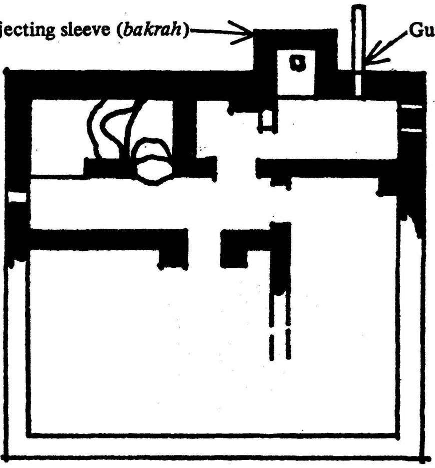
Projecting sleeve (*bakrah*)
Gutter (*mar‘aḍ*)
Lavatory (*ṭahārah*)
Sufūl rooms

Fig. 11.
Third floor

building that sticks out beyond the side of the house-wall, such as, for instance, the small projections that may be perceived on the battlements of some of these *ḥuṣns*.

The lavatory is of course of the Asiatic type, a small platform, the hole in which is called *marda'*,[40] while the pipe or gutter to the side of it, conveying urine and ablution-water outside and clear of the mud wall of the *ḥuṣn*, is called *mar'āḍ*.[41] This section of the room has also a triangular shelf (*riff*) in one corner and *maṭāwiḥ* for hanging clothes. Were it in actual use there would also be here water-*zīrs* and a scoop for ablution, clods of earth or perhaps pebbles in a receptacle, and most likely an incense-burner with charcoal and *lubān*-frankincense. While incense is burned as an air-sweetener it is to be remembered that the *ṭahārah* is a favourite haunt of the jinn, so that fumigation with incense may have a second aim, i.e. that of appeasing these spirits. In Ḥaḍramawt the dry spoil of the *ṭahārah* is carried in donkey panniers to spread on the fields and it has a market value, though small—during the second World War when there was a shortage, the Kat̲h̲īrī government even put a control on the price of this commodity in some of the towns of the state. We cannot say whether it is used here for manuring the fields, for it might be that the floods bring down sufficient silt bearing organic matter which, combined with animal manure from the *ḥaws̲h̲* would make the Jirdān people less reliant on human manure. The efficiency of this type of *ṭahārah* and lack of offensiveness may be contrasted with the custom in some of the otherwise highly civilized villages of northern Yemen where the roof is used for this purpose. Curiously enough too a British official inspecting the Jewish quarter in Aden some time in the 1920's found this was the custom there at least in some houses.[42]

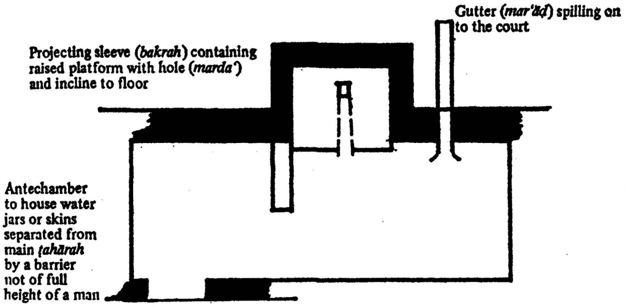
Gutter (*mar'āḍ*) spilling on to the court
Projecting sleeve (*bakrah*) containing raised platform with hole (*marda'*) and incline to floor
Antechamber to house water jars or skins separated from main *ṭahārah* by a barrier not of full height of a man

FIG. 12. Plan of lavatory (*ṭahārah*) on third floor

The wall bee-hive

Near the *ṭahārah*, set in the western external wall is a hole which is the entrance to a hive (*jibḥ*) [43] for bees (*nūb*) [44]—this seems a feature of other *ḥuṣns* also. We do not know why the hive should be sited here nor with which room it is linked on the inside. In Wādī Yashbum of Upper 'Awlaqī country the practice is to build a hollowed-out log into the clay wall of the *ḥuṣn*, running in parallel with the course of the wall. An entrance-hole to the outside surface of the wall is made in the middle of the log so that the bees have free passage to and fro. The two ends of the log, which are accessible from the room inside, are stopped up with clay; the bees store their honey in the right and left arms of the shallow T-shaped hive thus formed. By simply breaking open the clay stopping of one of the arms inside the house the rich round honeycomb can be extracted. In the Wāḥidī village al-Khabr in the summer of 1954 two kinds of honey were available, *baghīyah*, the top and choice part at a *raṭl* and a *rub'* for a *riyāl*, but *khulfī* the honey at the bottom only fetched a *riyāl* for two *raṭls*. At al-Qārah of north Yemen the first honey season was stated to be in *al-khāmis* when bees eat of the *ḍubb* tree (unknown) and the second in *al-sābi'* when they eat of the flowers of *qāt*, *bunn* (coffee), *'ilb*, and all sweet flowering trees and shrubs.

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[41] L. W. C. van den Berg, *Le Ḥadhramout et les colonies arabes dans l'Archipel indien*, Batavia, 1886, 67, *mur'āḍ*. An alternative spelling is *mir'āḍ*, *BSOAS*, XXVII, 1, 1964, 47.

[42] One hears of tribesmen seeking blood-revenge, lying in wait outside the *ḥuṣn* of their enemy to shoot him in the *ṭahārah*.

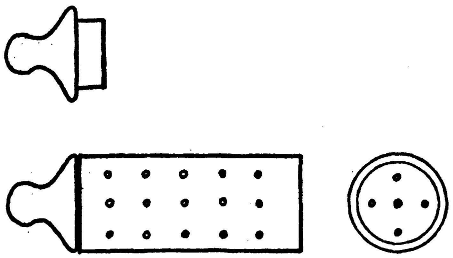

FIG. 13. Round wooden box (*khaishah*) with stopper and perforations for holding a queen bee, approximately quarter-size. The base-plate is also perforated.

In Abyan of the Faḍlī sultanate near Aden, Mr. Stephen Day, then of the Aden Political Service, purchased a container, called *khaishah* (fig. 13) for the queen bee. It is circular, of turned wood, and perforated with small holes; the base-plate, also perforated, is a circular piece fitted into the *khaishah*, and the top is closed with a wooden stopper. The queen bee is fed by the bees through the holes and, as anyway they say, water is brought on the bees' wings to the queen, and *thamar*, which ought to mean fruit but must obviously refer to what the bees collect from flowers. The South Arabians think the queen bee is a male and regard it as a kind of Arab chief. If the Shaikh (queen bee) dies, the owner selects a new one and puts it in the *khaishah*-box. Each day a different contingent (*firqah*) of bees goes out collecting while the others rest, but the Amīr remains where he is, not going out with them (*al-mīr gālis, mā yarūḥ*). They appear to entertain ideas about the bees as censors of morals, for, said a Faḍlī tribesman, if one does not pray (*mā yuṣallī*) the bees do not stay!

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[43] 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir, *K al-shāmil*, Singapore, 1359/1940, 203, says that *jubūḥ* (plur.) are round hollow pottery (*khazaf*) which when joined end to end are used as pipes, the joins sealed with *nūrah*, i.e. lime beaten up with cotton and oil. Cf. Aḥ. b. 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Naḥl 'ibar al-naḥl*, ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shaiyāl, Cairo, 1365/1946, 20, 25, *jibḥ*, and 70, on differences in *zakāt al-'asal*.

[44] For verses on bees see *BSOAS*, xxvii, 1, 1964, 64; *Prose and poetry*, Engl. pref., 21. Ibn Mājid (G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques . . .*, Paris, 1921–8, i, 83a) alludes to *nawb al-'asal al-musammā 'inda-nā al-d nī*. Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyah*, Cairo, 1964–7, ii, 202–3, has *nūb*. The anonymous *al-Ḥayāt al-sa'īdah fī Ḥaḍramawt*, Singapore, 1953, 7, has the phrase النوب المدرار وعسل فى كل صمار 'Many bees and honey in every hive'. *Ṣumār* = *jibḥ*.

The Islamic jurists, as Yaḥyā b. Ādam [45] points out, are at some variance with regard to the taxation of honey. Mu'ādh b. Jabal, the Companion of the Prophet sent by him to the Yemen, did not collect a tax on it, while Qudāmah b. Ja'far [46] states that the Prophet collected a tax of one skin of honey [47] in ten. In medieval Rasūlid Yemen the revenue on honey was an important enough item to figure in the fiscal schedules, being paid in kind. So Muḥammad Aḥmad Nu'mān when he complains of the tithes on honey in his *al-Ta'mīm fī 'l-Yaman*,[48] a riposte to Imām Aḥmad's celebrated poem attacking Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir and nationalization, cannot find support in either the Prophet's practice or the custom of Yemenite rulers!

5. *The fourth floor* (fig. 14)

Between the third and fourth floors is a square window (*mashla'*), something like a *mishwāf* or loop-hole, and on the stairs above this are other such windows. An *'ukrah*, of which there are quite a few in the walls of the upper floors at strategic points commanding what lies below, is a loop-hole for the *bunduq*, musket or rifle. We bought in the village muskets with silver mountings, one with a number of teeth of the *wabar* (hyrax) set in beeswax stuck on to it, iron powder-horns plated with brass and silver, and brass horns for the primer—one of the muskets still had a length of the wick/match-thread (*fatīlah*) attached to it.[49]

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[45] A. Ben Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam*, I, Leiden, 1958, 34. Al-Balādhurī, trans. P. K. Hitti, *The origins of the Islamic state*, Columbia, Beirut, 1966, 87, cites the case where Thaqīf of al-Ṭā'if had failed to pay one skin of honey in ten—as they used to do to the Prophet. The Caliph 'Umar ordered them to do so or their valley would not be protected, i.e. probably not remain a *ḥimā*.

[46] A. Ben Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam*, II, Leiden, 1965, 39–40. Cf. al-Shāfi'ī, *al-Umm*, Cairo, 1321/1903–4—1326/1908–9, II, 33. Abū 'Ubaid, *K al-amwāl*, Cairo, n.d., 496–7, says that a *qirbah* of middling size is taken on every ten as *'ushr*. Another source says a tenth is taken on honey from the plain but a fifth from mountain honey. Others say no *ṣadaqah* is payable on it at all.

[47] *Ziqq* is given the usual sense of ' wineskin ' by Ben Shemesh, and is called, inaccurately, a ' vase ' by Hitti, but the term is not restricted to wineskins. South Arabians now store their honey in bottles or tins, but as late as 1954 in Ḍāli' they used to keep it in gourds with a tiny window cut out in the side, and the piece used as a stopper. In Daw'an tins of a circular shape are made from old kerosene tins by local tinsmiths to hold the circular comb.

[48] Published on 8 December 1961, probably in Cairo. There is an amusing play on the word *ta'mīm* which can be understood as ' nationalization ' or as ' imāmization '.

[49] A certain Shaikh Ḥusain b. Muḥ. b. al-Ḥusain Ibrīq al-Ḥaḍramī al-Ḥabbānī composed in 1216/1801–2 *Taḥrīḍ al-ikhwān al-kirām wa-badhl al-naṣīḥah fī 'l-taḥarruz min Yām al-li'ām wa-af'āli-him al-qabīḥah*; the original is in Tarīm, but a photocopy is in the possession of R. B. Serjeant. Though this book is concerned with the north Yemen tribe of Yām, Makramīs, the author hails from the Wāḥidī capital, and his book has much to say of the musket, its parts, and its employment.

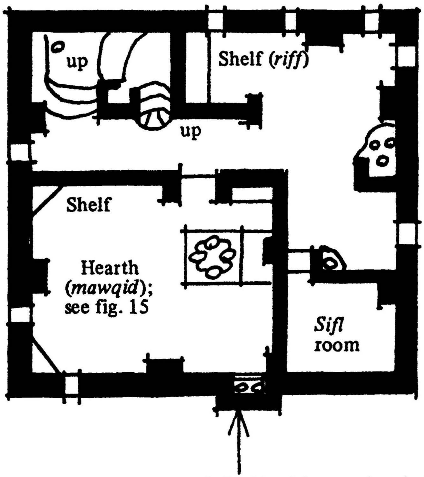
up
Shelf (*riff*)
up
Shelf
Hearth (*mawqid*); see fig. 15
Sifl room

FIG. 14.
Fourth floor

Men's reception room (*maḥḍarah*)

Window

Coffee-hearth (*maifā*)

Projecting sleeve (*bakrah*) with two view holes (*marda'*) at foot of internal recess 5′8″ high

On the right as you ascend the stairs is a reception room (*maḥḍarah*) for men. on the north side of which is a *bakrah* projecting beyond the wall of the *ḥuṣn*. In the floor of the *bakrah*, which looks over and commands the doorway, is a *marda'* of two holes through which one could fire on persons trying to enter below.

The reception room has a hearth (*mawqid*), also called *maifā* with four stones called *marākid* (sing. *markad*) [50] *ḥaqq al-mawqid* (fig. 15) for supporting a kettle. The hearth would be used for brewing coffee, and the man preparing it would sit on the slightly raised platform (*maq'ad*) between the hearth and the wall. To his left is a trough for holding firewood, and on his right a shelf (*riff*) in the wall

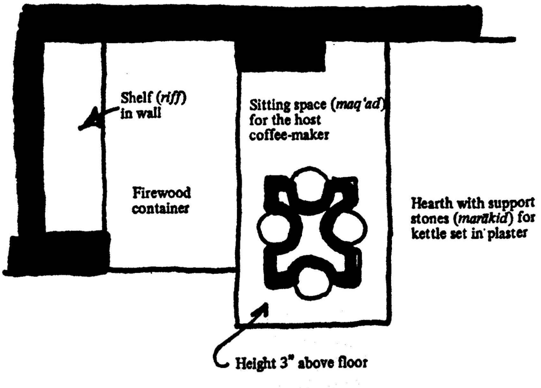
Shelf (*riff*) in wall
Sitting space (*maq'ad*) for the host coffee-maker
Firewood container
Hearth with support stones (*marākid*) for kettle set in plaster
Height 3″ above floor

FIG. 15. Details of coffee-hearth (*mawqid*) on fourth floor

where probably coffee-cups and other gear were kept. Many ruined sites and villages still inhabited have sherds of blue and white Chinese tea or coffee bowls, which show how widespread their use was. These are not very old and whole cups can still be bought occasionally. We found a cache of these in Holkat (Ḥuqqāt) Bay in Aden, perhaps damaged pieces from a shop. Nowadays Japanese bowls are universally used. Inside this room and in other rooms where there happens to be a hearth, the rafters are blackened by smoke. Here in Wādī Jirdān people used to drink *bunn Yāfiʿī* which is justly prized; then it was not to be had, so they drank the infusion of coffee-husk (*qis̲h̲r*); but nowadays (1964) again they drink either Yāfiʿī or Ḥabas̲h̲ī *bunn*—it seems a little strange to import coffee from Ethiopia into southern Arabia the land of the coffee-bean!

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[50] *Gloss. daṯ.*, 1393, *markadah* ' pierre de l'âtre '.

There is another large room, probably also a reception room, on this floor, with a coffee-hearth (*maifā*), on the lower side of which is a windowless *sifl* for grain (*ḥabb*). The windows, which are provided with shutters (*lahj*, plur. *luhūj*), have a horizontal flap of wood on the external wall above them to ward off rain.

In rooms such as these two reception rooms the honoured guest would be set in the corner between the two windows where he would have the benefit of the cool breeze on both sides, and the notable guests would sit beside him.

6. *The fifth floor* (fig. 16, p. 20)

This floor consists of only a single large room with a coffee-hearth and platform (*maqʿad*) for the coffee-maker behind it, a trough (*mag̲h̲waz*) for firewood to the left, and a hole for coffee-cups to the right behind the sitter (fig. 17). As is often the case in the Wāḥidī sultanate with public rooms, it is entered obliquely from the stair-head [51]—this seems to be a defence measure, though if this is so it is surprising to find this arrangement at the top of the house where the women usually are, so perhaps it may be to allow the men of the household to speak to their womenfolk from the top of the stairs when women visitors happen to be present. The roof-top would also belong to the women, and the preparation of food would take place there—this would generally be limited to the *qurṣ* of bread and perhaps a stew of vegetables or shark to make a savoury to eat with it, but apart from fears about the haunting of the *ḥuṣn*, the owners may have found it more convenient, in those more peaceful days especially, to

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[51] An interesting usage is that the ʿAwlaqīs apply the word *bait* to that part of the room shown in fig. 18 as shaded. In Ḥaḍramawt the corresponding term for this part of the room is *dār*.

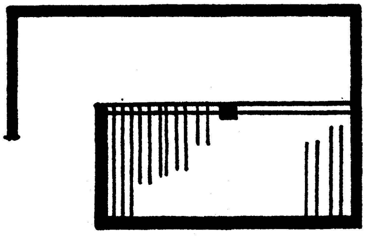
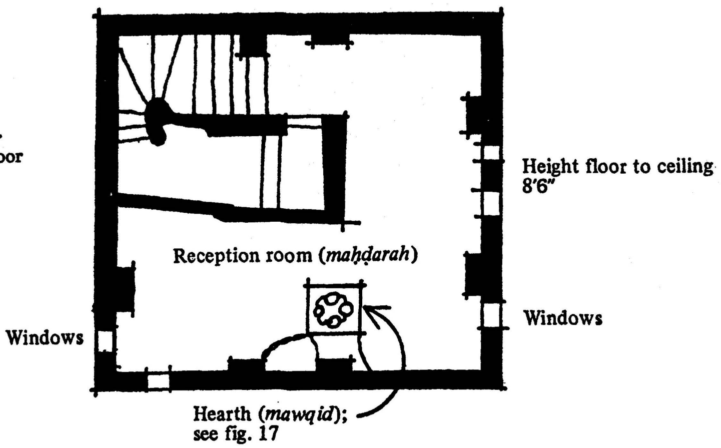


FIG. 18

Fig. 16.
Fifth floor


Height floor to ceiling
8′6″
Reception room (*maḥḍarah*)
Windows
Windows
Hearth (*mawqid*);
see fig. 17

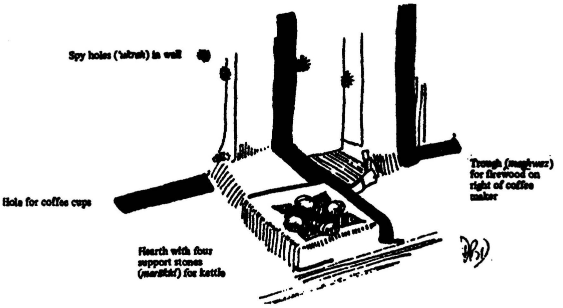

Spy holes ('ukrah) in wall
Hole for coffee cups
Trough (*maghwaz*) for firewood on right of coffee maker
Hearth with four support stones (*marāḥid*) for kettle

Fig. 17. Details of coffee-hearth (*mawqid*) on fifth floor

move into the buildings of one or two storeys only within the enceinte of the tower. For about 20 years, from 1947 to 1967, the Wāḥidī sultanate, after Sulṭān Nāṣir's effective succession, enjoyed unprecedented peace, security, and prosperity, marred only occasionally by violent incidents such as the assassination of the State Secretary Muḥammad b. Sa'īd [52] when a bomb was planted in his plane in 1966. The general security (in 1964) may have led the villagers to relax their security precautions somewhat while still maintaining the *ḥuṣn*, and to build without so much attention to defence.

The windows on this and the floor below have an oblong lower part (*khalfah*) above which is a blind triangular recess (*ṭāqah*) with a shelf (fig. 19). In the fine houses of the learned in Ḥaḍramawt books are kept on these shelves laid flat on their sides with the ends showing in traditional style going back to the 'Abbāsid period, but there are few books in the Wāḥidī sultanate or any of the surrounding tribal districts.

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[52] cf. *JRAS*, 1951, 1–2, p. 39.

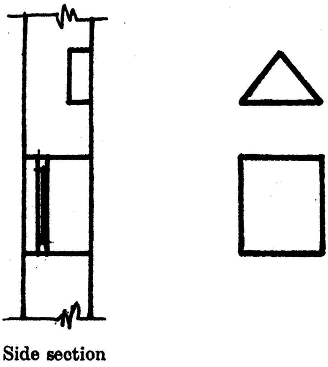
Side section

FIG. 19. Fifth-floor window (*khalfah*) above which is a blind triangular recess (*ṭāqah*) with a shelf. The side section shows also the shutters (*lahj*, pl. *luhūj*) to the window

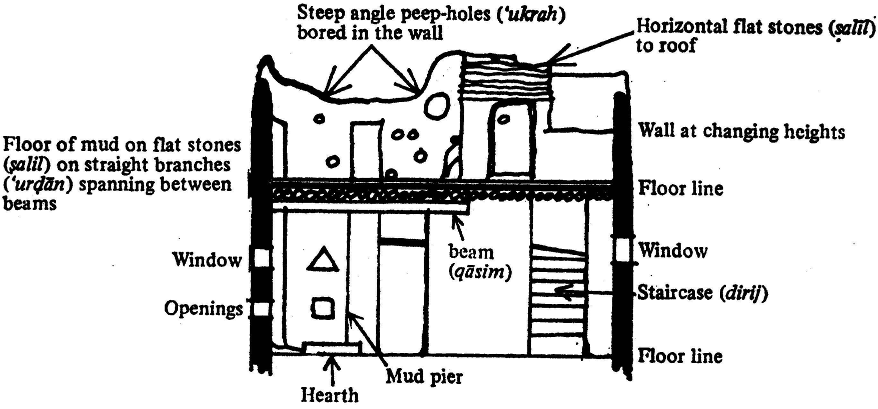
Steep angle peep-holes (*‘ukrah*) bored in the wall
Horizontal flat stones (*ṣalīl*) to roof
Floor of mud on flat stones (*ṣalīl*) on straight branches (*‘urḍān*) spanning between beams
Wall at changing heights
Floor line
Window
beam (*qāsim*)
Window
Openings
Staircase (*diriǰ*)
Floor line
Mud pier
Hearth

FIG. 20. Section through fifth floor and roof terrace showing inner face of south parapet

7. *The roof* (*raim*) (fig. 21)

From the fifth storey a stairway leads up to the *raim* or roof-floor. Over the main cross-beams (*qāsim*, plur. *qawāsim*) of the roof are the small transverse beams (*‘āriḍ*, plur. *‘urḍān*), and upon the *‘urḍān* are placed the *ṣalīl* stones, Landberg's [53] ‘ dalles plates ’, to retain the clay covering of the roof above them, this clay roof forming the floor of the open *raim*.

The doorless entrance at the stair-head (*rās al-diraj/diriǰ*) is called *fanā*, and the clay threshold step at the top of the stairs is also called *maqwā*. In front of it is a clay wall (*mūfir*), described as a barrier (*ḥājī*), the purpose of which is not quite certain, unless it be to keep out bad weather. On top of the roofed part of the stair-head is set a *muṣabbaḥ*, a little square turret (plate VIII), ruined in al-Muqaiyad, but visible in the other two *ḥuṣns* of Bil-Qār and Āl Jid‘ān; it has a drainage-gutter called *al-mīzāb ḥaqq al-muṣabbaḥ*. In summer people sleep on the *raim*.

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[53] *Arabica*, v, 239.

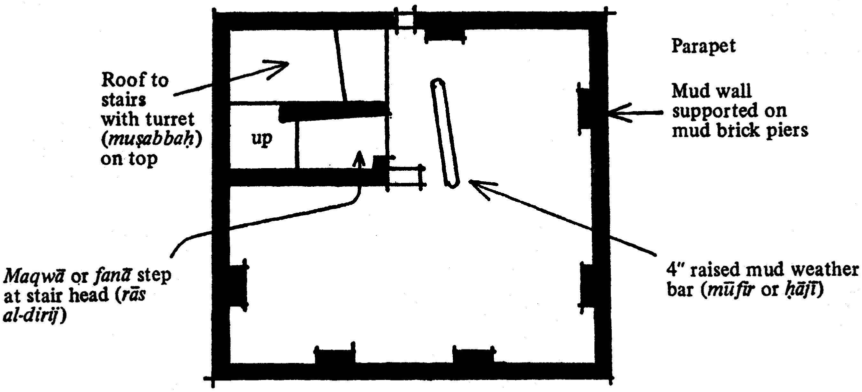

Roof to stairs with turret (*muṣabbaḥ*) on top
up
Maqwā or *fanā* step at stair head (*rās al-dirīj*)
Parapet
Mud wall supported on mud brick piers
4″ raised mud weather bar (*mūfir* or *ḥājī*)

FIG. 21. Roof terrace (*raim*) (see also figs. 20, 22–3)

The ordinary triangular projections of the battlement wall of the *raim* are known as *sharaf*, and the slightly more elaborate corners are *bāshūrah* (plur. *bawāshīr*) (figs. 22–3). In the outside wall of the *raim*, near the top, are set small stones to form little crevices for nesting birds. To keep off the rain and prevent bullets from entering the walls, so we were told, are added *ṣalīl wa-madar*, flat stones and mud. The mud wall is reckoned thick enough, it seems, to stop bullets, though of course the *ḥuṣn* was built at a time when muskets were in use. The walls of the *ḥuṣn* would not be proof against bazooka shells, a weapon become unpleasantly common in South Arabia.

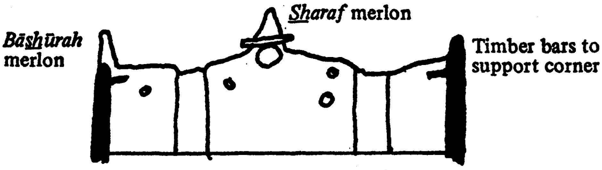

Sharaf merlon
Bāshūrah merlon
Timber bars to support corner

FIG. 22. Inner face of north parapet wall showing the peep-holes

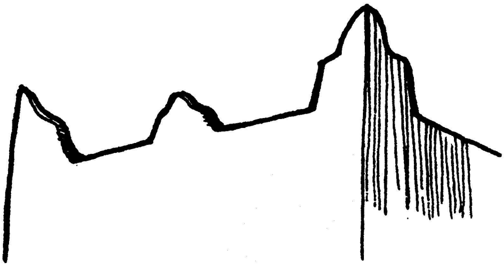


FIG. 23. Battlements of the roof terrace (*raim*) with the corner merlons (*bāshūrah*) and centre merlon (*sharaf*)

DESCRIPTIONS OF PLATES

Plate I. The fortified tower houses (*ḥuṣn*) at al-Jinainah from the perimeter track, from left to right—Ḥuṣn Āl Jid'ān, Ḥuṣn Āl Bil-Qār, only a corner of which shows, and al-Muqaiyad. A *zarībah* with a *shijib* door beside which are some clay brick-bats can be seen in the foreground to the left, and another with a stone wall on the right; in front of the latter is a sawyer's trestle with beams of *'ilb*-wood. The alley by which entrance is made to al-Muqaiyad is round the corner to the right.

Plate II. The view northwards from al-Muqaiyad to the perimeter track and field with sheep returning to the village in the evening. On the right is the alley paved with *ṣirf/ṣarf* stones and marked with a white arrow leading from the track to the main gate of the al-Muqaiyad enceinte, the gate being ajar. The top of the gate and that of the gate opposite it to the right has a *taḥbīr* or cover of thorns set in the clay to keep out intruders. The gate leads into a courtyard where stones and spoil from the privy can be seen lying on the ground below the projecting *bakrah* and gutter-drain of the privy itself on the third floor (bottom right). To the other side of the courtyard are yards and outbuildings attached to al-Muqaiyad with *dhurah* (millet) cane for fodder. On a roof to the left is more *dhurah* cane and a black and white goat-wool rug (*farīqah*). To the extreme left is a small mosque on the roof of which the prayer is presumably performed in hot weather. The buildings appear to intercommunicate—a useful device should the village be assailed from outside.

Plate III. The view westwards from al-Muqaiyad. Ḥuṣn Āl Bil-Qār stands on the left; some structures to the right of it are in a ruinous state though there is new building outside the village cluster. *Zarībahs*, including the kind known as *mashwā ḥaqq al-qaṣab* to contain millet cane, and threshing floors (*waṣar*) can be seen at the top, and, beyond them, the Wādī al-'Alhānah flowing (from the top left) to join the Wādī Jirdān. A heap of dry dung lies between the two front *zarībahs*.

Plate IV(*a*). Part of al-Jinainah showing the new *karif*-cistern built alongside the perimeter track, using concrete, in the prosperous days of the early 1960's.

Plate IV(*b*). Part of al-Jinainah showing the traditional type of cistern (*jābiyah*) for storing water.

Plate IV(*c*). View from al-Muqaiyad looking to the north-east (the oblong building, bottom left, is identical with that in plate II, top right), showing yards for storing millet cane and other purposes, *zarībahs*, and Ḥuṣn Āl Jid'ān with its approach alley on the right.

Plate V(*a*). Gateway to Ḥuṣn al-Muqaiyad at the end of the alley paved with *ṣirf/ṣarf* stone. The door or gate (*siddah*) is bound by iron flanges and horizontal cross-bars (*zawāfir*) and has a knocker (*ḥilqah*). The cross-pieces are carved and nailed on to the door planks. To the right is a carved cupboard-like door (*'alaqah*) inside which is a wooden lock (*qaishamah*) (see fig. 2). The top of the gate has a crown of thorns (*taḥbīr*). On the wooden threshold of the gate is a splash of blood from an animal sacrificed to the household ghosts or jinn. (R. B. S.)

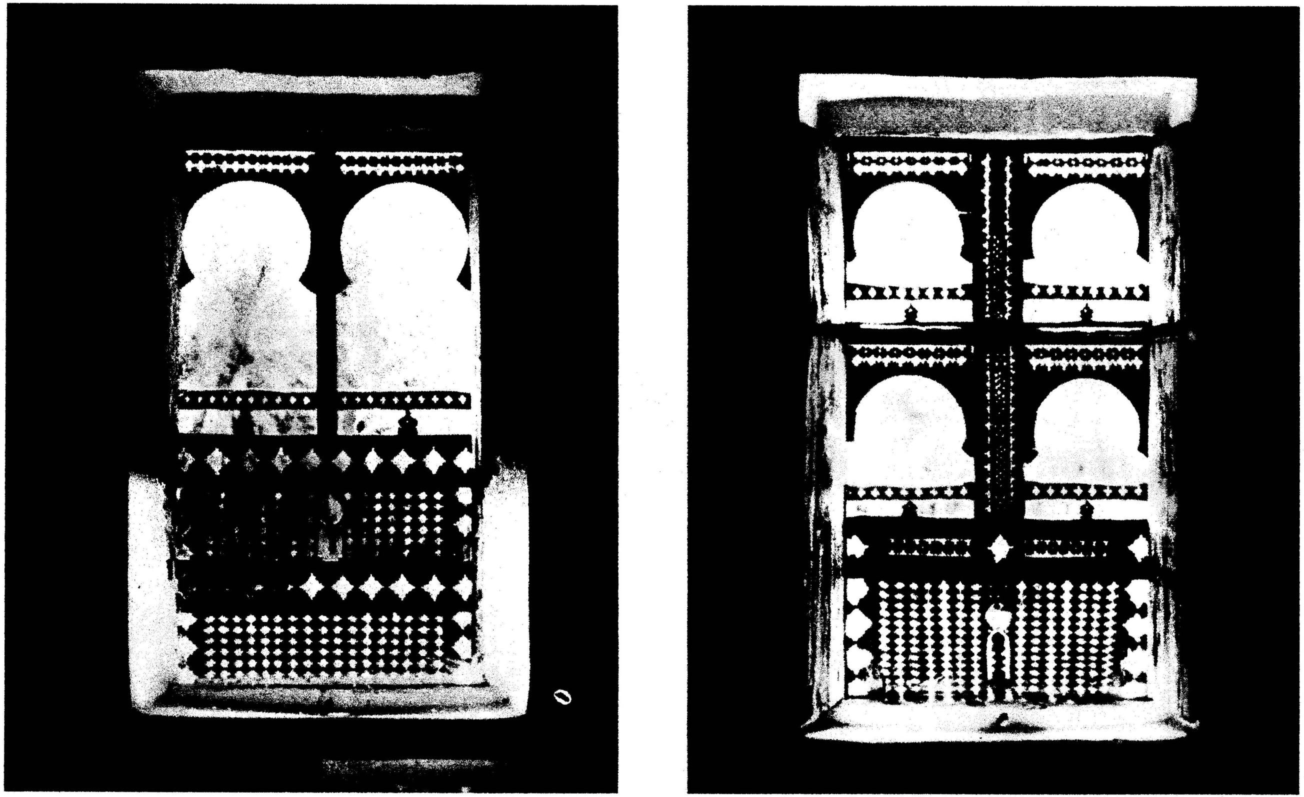
Plate V(*b*). Oven (*mīfā*) for making bread (*khubz*) in the roofed stable (*sirih*) on the right-hand side of the passage leading from the gate to the *ḥuṣn*.

Plate VI. Windows in Saiwūn, the mullion representing a palm trunk, and the arches palm fronds with formalized date clusters above them. The fretting of the lower half of the windows seems to be a formalized representation of a field of millet, with larger lozenges as millet heads. Window (*a*) has wooden shutters to its upper but not lower half whereas (*b*) has shutters for the whole window. (*a*) has, as it were, only one row of palm heads whereas (*b*) has two. In (*a*), the hole in the middle of the sill is for water to drain away. (R. B. S.)

Plate VII. The *'ilb*-wood door (*farkh*) of al-Muqaiyad of similar construction to the gate of the enceinte, and with a lock-cupboard (*ghawlaqah*) to the right also. The wooden base of the door-frame is called *musā'id al-lānah*, the posts *lānah*, and the lintel *mirdam*; the inscription is carved on the *mirdam*.

Plate VIII. Small square turret (*muṣabbaḥ*) of *ṣalīl* stone on top of the staircase to the roof terrace (*raim*), in semi-ruined state. The entrance to the stairs can be seen underneath the turret.

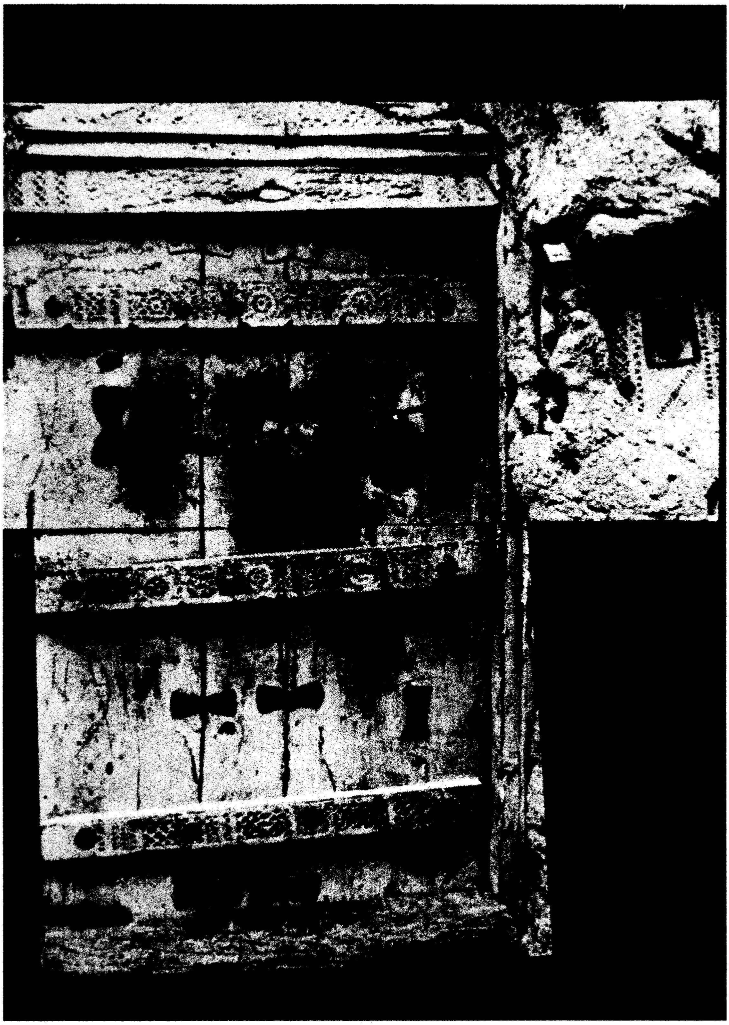
PLATE VI



(a) (b)

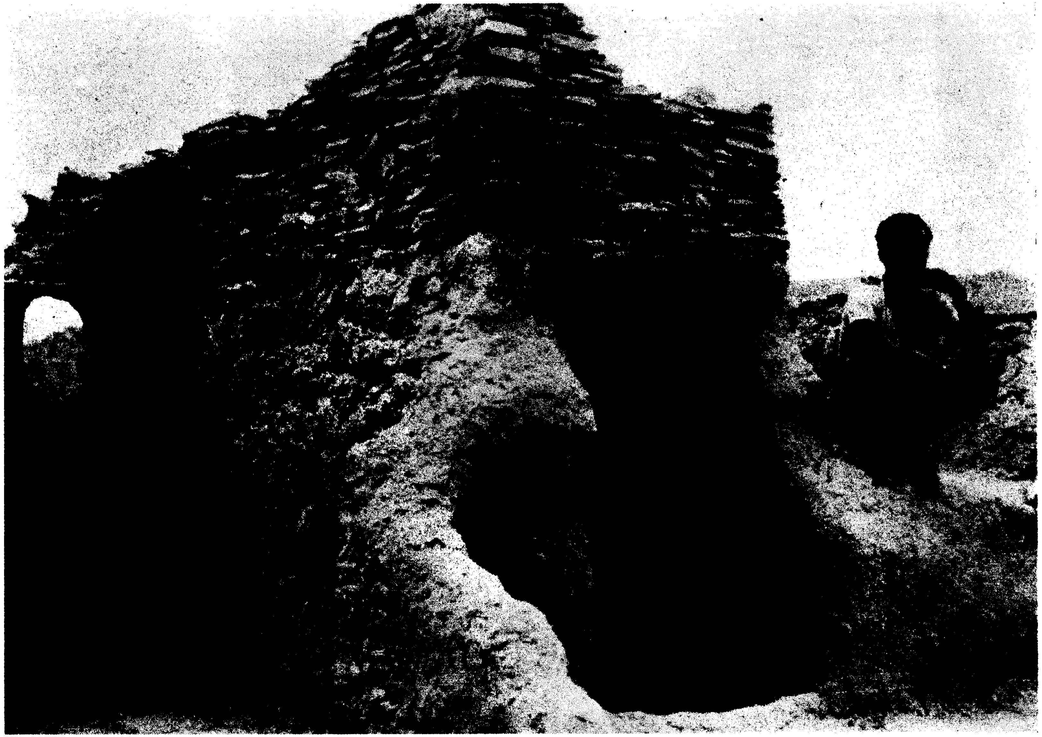
FOR DESCRIPTION, SEE P. 23

Plate VII



For description, see p. 23

Plate VIII



For description, see p. 23

A FORTIFIED TOWER-HOUSE IN WĀDĪ JIRDĀN (WĀḤIDĪ SULTANATE)—II

By Brian Doe and R. B. Serjeant

(PLATES I–IV)

Building sacrifices

Sacrifices of animals at the various stages in the construction of a house are already reported from the country of the Ṣubbaiḥah, Daw‘an, and Tarīm.[1] Ibn al-Mujāwir [2] even records in the Middle Ages that when a road was being built between Mafālīs and Ta‘izz, about 425/1033–4 up a mountain pass (*naqīl*) with 360 bends (*malwīy*), a head of cattle (*rās baqar*) was slaughtered at each bend as a sacrifice (*fidyah*); he calls a bend *f rkah*. Wheat also somehow formed part of the sacrifice, but Ibn al-Mujāwir is not explicit about this. At each bend there was a *masjid* and a *siqāyah*, just as so often one finds in the mountains of northern Yemen at certain points in a *naqīl* a little stone shelter-hut (*daimah*, pl. *diyām*) with a cistern (*birkah*)—these are pious foundations in many cases, and sometimes have a *waqf* to maintain them. Rossi calls the *daimah* a kitchen. Ibn al-Mujāwir's *fidyah*, though he does not say so, must undoubtedly have been intended to propitiate the Jinn. For example Saif al-Qu‘aiṭī [3] records a proverb, *Al-siknī fidā-h baiḍah*' 'The *siknī* (spirit) is propitiated with an egg'. He comments on this proverb, *Al-s̲h̲ayāṭīn tufaddā bi-'l-baiḍ ‘āmmat-an.* The allusion is to the common Ḥaḍramī practice of breaking eggs in places supposedly frequented by the Jinn,[4] and a place so haunted would be said to be *maskūn*.

In al-Jinainah the *fidū* is slaughtered on the *sās* or stone plinth at the western corner (*al-rukn al-qiblī*) on its reaching completion, and the blood flows for the *Jānn*. The next *fidū* belongs to the second storey and it is also invariably slaughtered on *al-rub‘* (i.e. *al-rukn*) *al-qiblī*, and so on, each storey (*qaṣr*) having its own *fidū*. On the *raim* the *fidū* was stated to be slaughtered *‘a 'l-mawfir/mūfir ḥaqq al-jadar* this being the parapet wall, but the term *mawfir* is fully explained in the list of technical building terms below (p. 293). They said that they slaughter over the *jadar* for feasts (*la‘yād*)—in this case perhaps the blood runs down the outside wall, a sign of *karam*, and a kind of ostentation.

The salt-mine at ‘Ayād̲h̲

The Mukallā Secretariat files at the Residency state that ‘Ayād̲h̲ at the mouth of Wādī Jirdān is inhabited by the Qarāmīs̲h̲ who are hereditary *‘askar al-Wāḥidī*, soldiers of the Wāḥidī sulṭāns, and have brothers further to the east in Wādī Rakhyah, but the ʻAwlaqīs have an old right to a dollar a load on salt, exactly as do the Kurab at Shabwah. Though Landberg calls the Qarāmīsh an independent tribe,[5] Philby [6] says that they claimed to be of the Banī Jabr. The Banī Jabr are a tribe of the Yemeni Khawlān al-Ṭiyāl district, and von Wissmann [7] has even marked a district Qarāmīsh west of Ṣirwāḥ which would be Banī Jabr country. We stopped at Ḥuṣn al-Qarāmīsh called Rakhmān. Philby says that the salt-mines belong to the Qarāmīsh, and this appears to be correct.

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[1] cf. 'Building and builders in Ḥaḍramawt', *Le Muséon*, LXII, 3–4, 1949, 277.

[2] *Descriptio Arabiae meridionalis . . . Ta'rīẖ al-mustabṣir, ed.* O. Löfgren, Leiden, 1951–4, 150.

[3] *Al-Amt̲h̲āl wa-'l-aqwāl al-Ḥaḍramīyah*, MS in Ḥaidarābād, India, 66.

[4] This practice has already been discussed. Cf. 'Building and builders', 278.

Wādī Jirdān seems to lose itself in the steppe somewhere west of ʻAyādh, the area about the Salt Mountain or Ḥaid al-Milḥ, being described as *mitnah*, which is smooth flat bottom (*qāʻ*), good for transport to run upon, as indeed it was. One arrives through a re-entrant at the mine in the middle of a small mass of low mountain in the plain surrounded by low hills, to find a small entrance leading into an enormous cavern rather like the inside of a cathedral in size. The salt has been hacked away for generation after generation, the interior being scored everywhere with marks of the tools used by the salt-workers, and yet this mine is not known to al-Hamdānī's geography. The bottom of the mine is reached by a steep slippery narrow path coming up which one meets the salt-workers carrying up the salt in baskets. They empty these on to separate piles, each with the owner's distinguishing mark upon it, a strand of palm leaf, and as it is bagged the salt is loaded on to camels couched close at hand (plate I).

There are five houses (*khams diyār*) of the Qarāmīsh in ʻAyādh, each of which has a share marked out in the Salt Mountain. Our information is that, to the Qurmūsh, 2 shillings are paid on each load (*ḥiml*), the *ḥiml* consisting of two bags (*gawānī*), the total weight of the *ḥiml* being 14 *farāsilahs*, each *farāsilah* of 28 *raṭls*. The camel-load would therefore amount to 392 *raṭls*, assuming a *raṭl* is 16 ounces and not 12 as in older times in certain parts of South Arabia. One can judge what a man earns for he can work two loads a day, and in ʻAtaq the load sells for 20 shillings.

Philby, writing of his 1936 journey,[8] says of Ḥaid al-Milḥ that ' the *Mijba* or dues exacted by these folk amount to one Riyal on three camel-loads, in addition to which the salt merchants pay a *Masra*, or fee of a quarter Riyal on each camel to the owners—the people of Husn Juwaibiya '.[9] The last-named seems to be a *ḥuṣn* on the edge of the cultivation at ʻAyādh, so they would be

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[5] *Arabica*, v, 245.

[6] *Sheba's daughters*, London, 1939, 326, 328.

[7] ' Das vorislamische Südarabien ', map in H. von Wissmann and Maria Höfner, *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie des vorislamischen Südarabien*, Mainz and Wiesbaden, 1952.

[8] op. cit., 330.

[9] *Mijba* is no doubt equivalent to the *majbā* ' octroi ' of *Gloss. daṯ.*, 261, and Landberg, loc. cit., speaks of *muṣrā ʻalā kull wiqrah/wuqrah* ' un *muṣrā* sur chaque charge lourde '. The *muṣrā* varies, but the Quʻaiṭī Weights and Measures Decree of 26 January 1943, fixed the *muṣrā* there at 3½ lb. But might it not be *masraḥ*, in the sense of a payment for being allowed to depart? Cf. *Arabica*, v, 100, the Amīr of Ḥarīb in Landberg's day, taking a *migbā* of an eighth of a *riyāl* on every camel entering Ḥarīb except from those of the inhabitants of the town itself.

For pictures of the mouth of the mine taken on our trip there see D. B. Doe, *Southern Arabia*, London, 1970, figs. 99 and 100.

Descriptions of Plates

Plate I. The fortified tower houses (*ḥuṣn*) at al-Jinainah from the perimeter track, from left to right—Ḥuṣn Āl Jid'ān, Ḥuṣn Āl Bil-Qār, only a corner of which shows, and al-Muqaiyad. A *zarībah* with a *shijib* door beside which are some clay brick-bats can be seen in the foreground to the left, and another with a stone wall on the right; in front of the latter is a sawyer's trestle with beams of '*ilb*-wood. The alley by which entrance is made to al-Muqaiyad is round the corner to the right.

Plate II. The view northwards from al-Muqaiyad to the perimeter track and field with sheep returning to the village in the evening. On the right is the alley paved with *ṣirf/ṣarf* stones and marked with a white arrow leading from the track to the main gate of the al-Muqaiyad enceinte, the gate being ajar. The top of the gate and that of the gate opposite it to the right has a *taḥbīr* or cover of thorns set in the clay to keep out intruders. The gate leads into a courtyard where stones and spoil from the privy can be seen lying on the ground below the projecting *bakrah* and gutter-drain of the privy itself on the third floor (bottom right). To the other side of the courtyard are yards and outbuildings attached to al-Muqaiyad with *dhurah* (millet) cane for fodder. On a roof to the left is more *dhurah* cane and a black and white goat-wool rug (*farīqah*). To the extreme left is a small mosque on the roof of which the prayer is presumably performed in hot weather. The buildings appear to intercommunicate—a useful device should the village be assailed from outside.

Plate III. The view westwards from al-Muqaiyad. Ḥuṣn Āl Bil-Qār stands on the left; some structures to the right of it are in a ruinous state though there is new building outside the village cluster. *Zarībahs*, including the kind known as *mashwā ḥaqq al-qaṣab* to contain millet cane, and threshing floors (*waṣar*) can be seen at the top, and, beyond them, the Wādī al-'Alhānah flowing (from the top left) to join the Wādī Jirdān. A heap of dry dung lies between the two front *zarībahs*.

Plate IV(*a*). Part of al-Jinainah showing the new *karīf*-cistern built alongside the perimeter track, using concrete, in the prosperous days of the early 1960's.

Plate IV(*b*). Part of al-Jinainah showing the traditional type of cistern (*jābiyah*) for storing water.

Plate IV(*c*). View from al-Muqaiyad looking to the north-east (the oblong building, bottom left, is identical with that in plate II, top right), showing yards for storing millet cane and other purposes, *zarībahs*, and Ḥuṣn Āl Jid'ān with its approach alley on the right.

Plate V(*a*). Gateway to Ḥuṣn al-Muqaiyad at the end of the alley paved with *ṣirf/ṣarf* stone. The door or gate (*siddah*) is bound by iron flanges and horizontal cross-bars (*zawāfir*) and has a knocker (*ḥilqah*). The cross-pieces are carved and nailed on to the door planks. To the right is a carved cupboard-like door ('*alaqah*) inside which is a wooden lock (*qaishamah*) (see fig. 2). The top of the gate has a crown of thorns (*taḥbīr*). On the wooden threshold of the gate is a splash of blood from an animal sacrificed to the household ghosts or jinn. (R. B. S.)

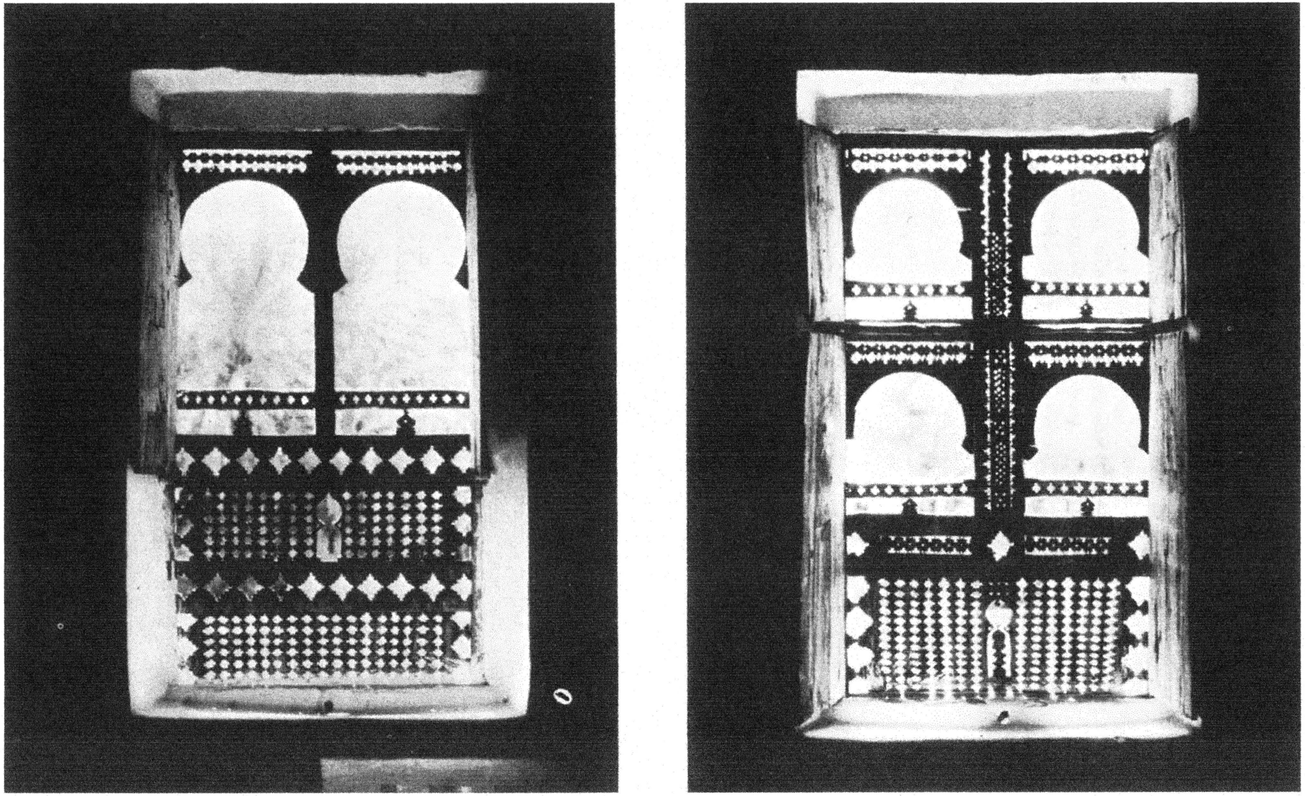
Plate V(*b*). Oven (*mīfā*) for making bread (*khubz*) in the roofed stable (*sirih*) on the right-hand side of the passage leading from the gate to the *ḥuṣn*.

Plate VI. Windows in Saiwūn, the mullion representing a palm trunk, and the arches palm fronds with formalized date clusters above them. The fretting of the lower half of the windows seems to be a formalized representation of a field of millet, with larger lozenges as millet heads. Window (*a*) has wooden shutters to its upper but not lower half whereas (*b*) has shutters for the whole window. (*a*) has, as it were, only one row of palm heads whereas (*b*) has two. In (*a*), the hole in the middle of the sill is for water to drain away. (R. B. S.)

Plate VII. The '*ilb*-wood door (*farkh*) of al-Muqaiyad of similar construction to the gate of the enceinte, and with a lock-cupboard (*ghawlaqah*) to the right also. The wooden base of the door-frame is called *musā'id al-lānah*, the posts *lānah*, and the lintel *mirdam*; the inscription is carved on the *mirdam*.

Plate VIII. Small square turret (*muṣabbaḥ*) of *ṣalīl* stone on top of the staircase to the roof terrace (*raim*), in semi-ruined state. The entrance to the stairs can be seen underneath the turret.

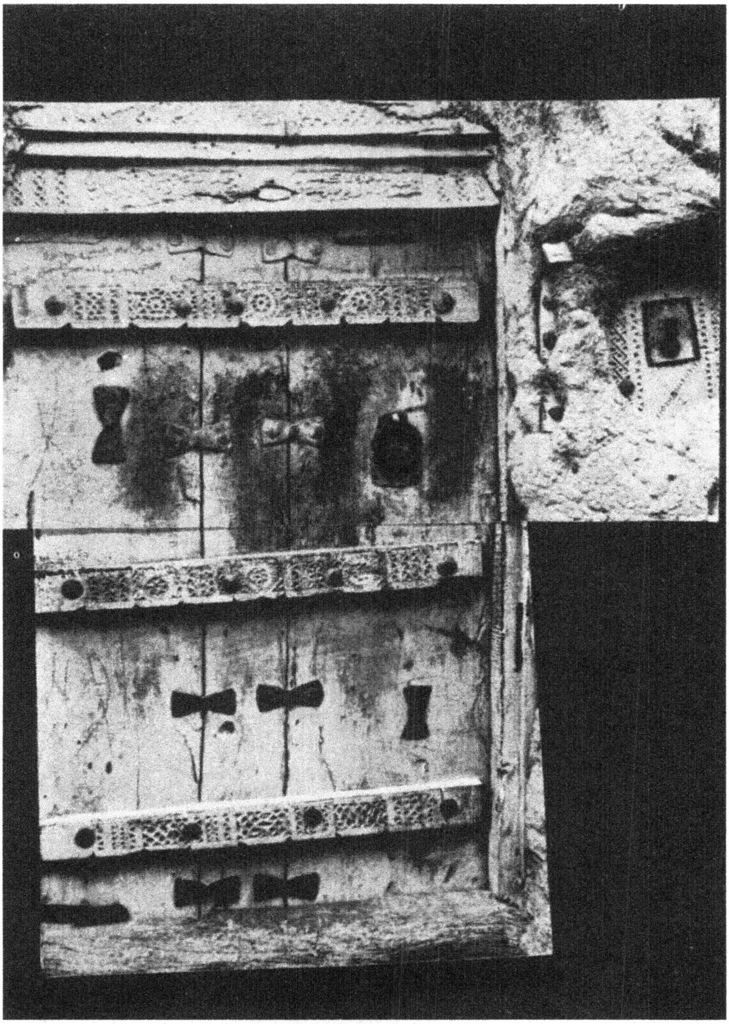
PLATE VI



(*a*) (*b*)

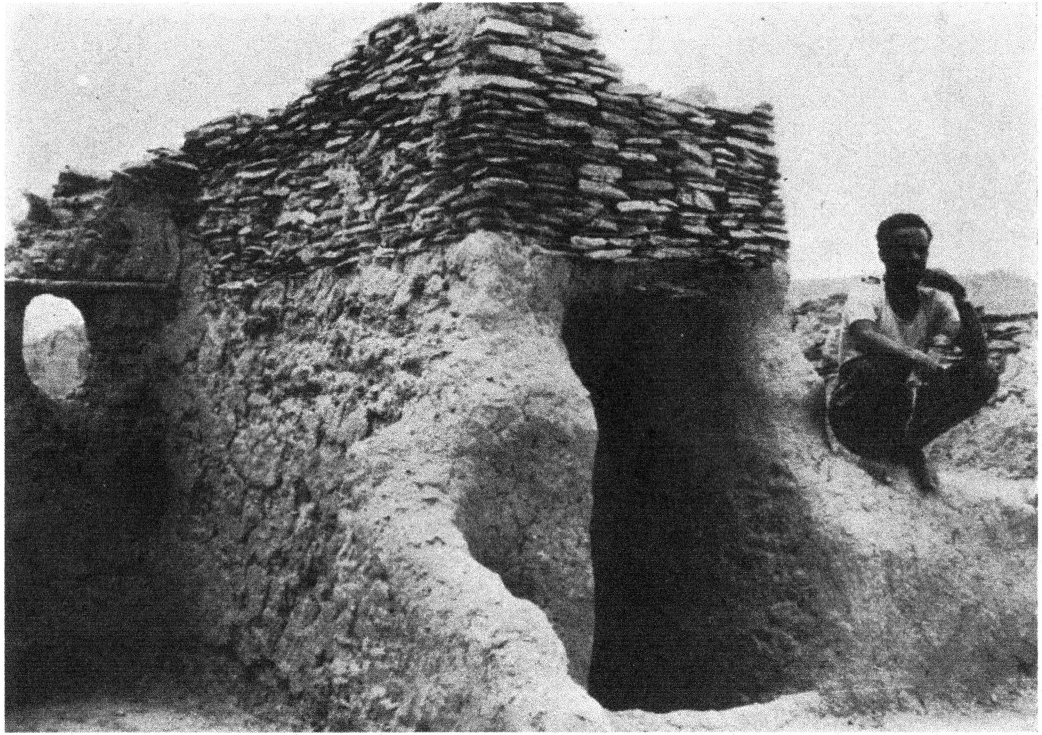
FOR DESCRIPTION, SEE P. 23

PLATE VII



FOR DESCRIPTION, SEE P. 23

PLATE VIII



FOR DESCRIPTION, SEE P. 23

XV

A FORTIFIED TOWER-HOUSE IN WĀDĪ JIRDĀN (WĀḤIDĪ SULTANATE)—II

By Brian Doe and R. B. Serjeant

(PLATES I–IV)

Building sacrifices

Sacrifices of animals at the various stages in the construction of a house are already reported from the country of the Ṣubbaiḥah, Daw'an, and Tarīm.[1] Ibn al-Mujāwir [2] even records in the Middle Ages that when a road was being built between Mafālīs and Ta'izz, about 425/1033–4 up a mountain pass (*naqīl*) with 360 bends (*malwīy*), a head of cattle (*rās baqar*) was slaughtered at each bend as a sacrifice (*fidyah*); he calls a bend *f rkah.* Wheat also somehow formed part of the sacrifice, but Ibn al-Mujāwir is not explicit about this. At each bend there was a *masjid* and a *siqāyah*, just as so often one finds in the mountains of northern Yemen at certain points in a *naqīl* a little stone shelter-hut (*daimah*, pl. *diyām*) with a cistern (*birkah*)—these are pious foundations in many cases, and sometimes have a *waqf* to maintain them. Rossi calls the *daimah* a kitchen. Ibn al-Mujāwir's *fidyah*, though he does not say so, must undoubtedly have been intended to propitiate the Jinn. For example Saif al-Qu'aiṭī [3] records a proverb, *Al-siknī fidā-h baiḍah*' 'The *siknī* (spirit) is propitiated with an egg'. He comments on this proverb, *Al-shayāṭīn tufaddā bi-'l-baiḍ 'āmmat-an.* The allusion is to the common Ḥaḍramī practice of breaking eggs in places supposedly frequented by the Jinn,[4] and a place so haunted would be said to be *maskūn.*

In al-Jinainah the *fidū* is slaughtered on the *sās* or stone plinth at the western corner (*al-rukn al-qiblī*) on its reaching completion, and the blood flows for the *Jānn.* The next *fidū* belongs to the second storey and it is also invariably slaughtered on *al-rub'* (i.e. *al-rukn*) *al-qiblī*, and so on, each storey (*qaṣr*) having its own *fidū.* On the *raim* the *fidū* was stated to be slaughtered *'a 'l-mawfir/mūfir ḥaqq al-jadar* this being the parapet wall, but the term *mawfir* is fully explained in the list of technical building terms below (p. 293). They said that they slaughter over the *jadar* for feasts (*la'yād*)—in this case perhaps the blood runs down the outside wall, a sign of *karam*, and a kind of ostentation.

The salt-mine at 'Ayādh

The Mukallā Secretariat files at the Residency state that 'Ayādh at the mouth of Wādī Jirdān is inhabited by the Qarāmīsh who are hereditary *'askar al-Wāḥidī*, soldiers of the Wāḥidī sulṭāns, and have brothers further to the east in Wādī Rakhyah, but the ‘Awlaqīs have an old right to a dollar a load on salt, exactly as do the Kurab at Shabwah. Though Landberg calls the Qarāmīsh an independent tribe,[5] Philby [6] says that they claimed to be of the Banī Jabr. The Banī Jabr are a tribe of the Yemeni Khawlān al-Ṭiyāl district, and von Wissmann [7] has even marked a district Qarāmīsh west of Ṣirwāḥ which would be Banī Jabr country. We stopped at Ḥuṣn al-Qarāmīsh called Rakhmān. Philby says that the salt-mines belong to the Qarāmīsh, and this appears to be correct.

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[1] cf. 'Building and builders in Ḥaḍramawt', *Le Muséon*, LXII, 3–4, 1949, 277.

[2] *Descriptio Arabiae meridionalis . . . Ta'rīḫ al-mustabṣir, ed.* O. Löfgren, Leiden, 1951–4, 150.

[3] *Al-Amthāl wa-'l-aqwāl al-Ḥaḍramīyah*, MS in Ḥaidarābād, India, 66.

[4] This practice has already been discussed. Cf. 'Building and builders', 278.

Wādī Jirdān seems to lose itself in the steppe somewhere west of ‘Ayādh, the area about the Salt Mountain or Ḥaid al-Milḥ, being described as *mitnah*, which is smooth flat bottom (*qā‘*), good for transport to run upon, as indeed it was. One arrives through a re-entrant at the mine in the middle of a small mass of low mountain in the plain surrounded by low hills, to find a small entrance leading into an enormous cavern rather like the inside of a cathedral in size. The salt has been hacked away for generation after generation, the interior being scored everywhere with marks of the tools used by the salt-workers, and yet this mine is not known to al-Hamdānī's geography. The bottom of the mine is reached by a steep slippery narrow path coming up which one meets the salt-workers carrying up the salt in baskets. They empty these on to separate piles, each with the owner's distinguishing mark upon it, a strand of palm leaf, and as it is bagged the salt is loaded on to camels couched close at hand (plate I).

There are five houses (*khams diyār*) of the Qarāmīsh in ‘Ayādh, each of which has a share marked out in the Salt Mountain. Our information is that, to the Qurmūsh, 2 shillings are paid on each load (*ḥiml*), the *ḥiml* consisting of two bags (*gawānī*), the total weight of the *ḥiml* being 14 *farāsilahs*, each *farāsilah* of 28 *raṭls*. The camel-load would therefore amount to 392 *raṭls*, assuming a *raṭl* is 16 ounces and not 12 as in older times in certain parts of South Arabia. One can judge what a man earns for he can work two loads a day, and in ‘Ataq the load sells for 20 shillings.

Philby, writing of his 1936 journey,[8] says of Ḥaid al-Milḥ that ‘ the *Mijba* or dues exacted by these folk amount to one Riyal on three camel-loads, in addition to which the salt merchants pay a *Masra*, or fee of a quarter Riyal on each camel to the owners—the people of Husn Juwaibiya ’.[9] The last-named seems to be a *ḥuṣn* on the edge of the cultivation at ‘Ayādh, so they would be

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[5] *Arabica*, v, 245.

[6] *Sheba's daughters*, London, 1939, 326, 328.

[7] ‘ Das vorislamische Südarabien ’, map in H. von Wissmann and Maria Höfner, *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie des vorislamischen Südarabien*, Mainz and Wiesbaden, 1952.

[8] op. cit., 330.

[9] *Mijba* is no doubt equivalent to the *majbā* ‘ octroi ’ of *Gloss. daṯ.*, 261, and Landberg, loc. cit., speaks of *muṣrā ‘alā kull wiqrah/wuqrah* ‘ un *muṣrā* sur chaque charge lourde ’. The *muṣrā* varies, but the Qu‘aiṭī Weights and Measures Decree of 26 January 1943, fixed the *muṣrā* there at 3½ lb. But might it not be *masraḥ*, in the sense of a payment for being allowed to depart? Cf. *Arabica*, v, 100, the Amīr of Ḥarīb in Landberg's day, taking a *migbā* of an eighth of a *riyāl* on every camel entering Ḥarīb except from those of the inhabitants of the town itself.

For pictures of the mouth of the mine taken on our trip there see D. B. Doe, *Southern Arabia*, London, 1970, figs. 99 and 100.

Qarāmish. The officer at ‘Ayādh, Muḥammad Qāsim Yāfi‘ī, told us that the salt extracted here is distinguishable from Shabawī salt which one finds sold widely in Ḥaḍramawt, and for example, in 1954 anyway, in Lawdar *sūq* of the ‘Awdhalī sultanate. From Jabal al-Milḥ at ‘Ayādh salt in quantity goes to the Yemen.

Salt mines are found in several places of this eastern Yemen area, the most celebrated of all being that of Ma’rib, for Abyaḍ b. Ḥammāl al-Ma’ribī asked the Prophet for the salt which is at Ma’rib as a fief (*istaqṭa‘a al-Nabī al-milḥ alladhī bi-Ma’rib*). This the Prophet granted him, but later he revoked the grant because he was subsequently informed that he had not, as he supposed, granted him dead land to bring into cultivation, but land, as al-Hamdānī[10] describes it, with wells and spring water, unequalled and clear like crystal. The Egyptian journalist Muḥammad Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Raḥmān[11] reports that the ‘Abīdah tribe specializes in the transport of salt at Ma’rib, and the Ashrāf tribe sells it—presumably he means the Ashrāf of al-Jawf, some houses, he adds, being filled to the roof with salt. The salt mountain of Ṣāfir, one stage from Ma’rib is already well known.[12] Ṣan‘ānīs still use *milḥ Mārībī* today.

Of the rock-salt of Baiḥān, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Girgirah[13] says that the Bal-Ḥārith have the right to trade in it, and another source informs us that this tribe is considered to be the owners of the mine. One passes by their camels in Wādī ‘Ubailāt laden with the black woollen sacks of salt. The correct name of the mine seems to be Ayādīm.[14]

A little-known letter[15] of the Prophet to the Aqwāl/Aqyāl of Shabwah guarantees the security of their salt (mines) and interdicted pastures (*maḥjar*)—which does give some indication that salt has been worked in this district for centuries.

Building and house law in Ḥaḍramawt

On our all too brief visits to the Wādī Jirdān we had no time to investigate customary or *sharī‘ah* law relating to either building or property rights, which in any case would undoubtedly be of considerable complexity, involving many new local technical terms, since such abound even in the printed legal treatises of the Shāfi‘ī *‘ulamā’* who do not even always bother to explain them. In the types of contract compiled by Ḥaḍramī authors from Baḥraq [16] to those of the present day [17] one perceives from the texts something of the issues at stake. A familiar sort of case, also found in early *sharī‘ah* law, can be consulted in the *Fatāwā* of Bā Makhramah [18] (907/1501–2–972/1564–5), a younger contemporary of Baḥraq, relating to the disposal of the water draining from the *mīzāb* or water-spout/gutter, of a house.[19] Again [20] the making of an aperture or apertures in the upper part of his house (*fatḥ kuwwah* [21] *aw kuwwāt fī a‘lā baiti-hi*) in such a way that the person concerned can see out of them, if it is detrimental to the privacy of other persons, is prohibited. The right to construct another storey on one's house has in some districts to be specifically entered in a deed.[22] In Tarīm a dispute over the right to build in the *ḥaram* (Class. *ḥarīm*), the immediate environs of two houses, and lying between them, was settled by allowing either to build (1233/1817–18),[23] though the settlement seems to be questionable in *sharī‘ah* law.

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[10] D. H. Müller, *Al-Hamdânî's Geographie der arabischen Halbinsel*, Leiden, 1884–91, i, 201. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghābah*, Cairo, 1285–6/1868–9, i, 45; Qāsim b. Sallām, *Kitāb al-amwāl*, Cairo, n.d., 275, no. 683 where al-Māzinī is incorrectly read for al-Ma’ribī; al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, Cairo, 1341/1922–3, 311, to be corrected by the above; A. Ben Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam*, i, 76 (Yaḥyā b. Ādam), ii, 35 (Qudāmah b. Ja‘far); al-Balādhurī, trans. P. K. Hitti, *The origins of the Islamic state*, Beirut, 1966, 111.

[11] *Arḍ al-buṭūlāt wa ’l-amjād*, Cairo, 1964.

[12] C. F. Beckingham and R. B. Serjeant, ‘A journey by two Jesuits from Dhufār to San‘ā in 1590’, *Geographical Journal*, cxv, 4–6, 1950, 206; *Arabica*, v, 100.

[13] ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Gargarah [*sic*], *Arḍu-nā al-ṭaiyibah, hādha ’l-Janūb*, Beirut, 1967, 21.

[14] This is the form of the name as given in R. LeBaron Bowen and F. P. Albright, *Archaeological discoveries in South Arabia*, Baltimore, 1958, 35–6, but Philby calls it Aiyadin and Girgirah al-Abāyim.

[15] M. Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū‘at al-wathā’iq al-siyāsīyah*, third ed., Beirut, 1969, 204, from various texts in MS.

A quite common legal question in the sources is whether the appurtenances of a house through which there may be access to the house or not, actually form part of the house, as in the case where the famous *qāḍī* of al-Shiḥr, Abū Makhramah,[24] was asked:

مسألة:— باع داراً فيها بيت داخل فى تربيعها، لكنّه غير نافذ إليها، كالمخازن فى ديار الجهة. فهل تدخل فى مطلق بيعها أم لا ؟

‘ Question: (A person) sold a house within which is a room [25] entering into

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[16] R. B. Serjeant, ‘ Forms of plea, a Šāfi‘ī manual from al-Šiḥr ’, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, xxx, 1–2, 1955, 9.

[17] Notably Muḥ. b. al-Shaikh ‘Abdullāh b. Aḥmad Bā Sawdān, *Taḥṣīl al-maqṣūd fī mā ṭuliba min ta‘rīf ṣiyagh al-‘uqūd*, photocopy of Tarīm MS in R. B. Serjeant's possession, 8. (This well-known scholar, a Daw‘anī from al-Khuraibah, flourished from 1206/1791–2 to 1281/1864–5, cf. ‘Abdullāh . . . b. Ḥāmid al-Saqqāf, *Tārīkh al-shu‘arā’ al-Ḥaḍramīyīn*, Cairo, 1353/1934–5— , III, 196, which omits *Taḥṣīl* from the afore-going title, while Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abdullāh al-Khaṭīb al-Anṣārī al-Tarīmī, *al-Fatāwā al-nāfi‘ah fī masā’il al-aḥwāl al-wāqi‘ah*, Cairo, 1960, 48, merely entitles it *Ṣiyagh al-‘uqūd*.) Saiyid Muḥsin b. Ja‘far b. ‘Alawī Bū Numaiy, *Tashīl al-da‘āwī fī raf‘ al-shakāwī*, al-Mukallā, 1954.

[18] For this author see R. B. Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian coast*, Oxford, 1963, 28. The cases discussed are taken from a photocopy of the Mukallā MS of his *al-Fatāwā al-‘Adanīyah*, fols. 215a, 218b.

[19] cf. *al-Fatāwā al-nāfi‘ah*, 99, and Bū Numaiy, op. cit., 12.

[20] See n. 18, above.

[21] A *kuwwah* can also be an aperture above a door or window.

[22] cf. R. B. Serjeant, ‘ A Judeo-Arab house-deed from Ḥabbān ’. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1953, 3–4, p. 127. Cf. Bū Numaiy, op. cit., 13.

[23] *Al-Fatāwā al-nāfi‘ah*, 95.

[24] op. cit., 187b.

[25] cf. pt. I of this article, *BSOAS*, XXXVIII, 1, 1975, p. 19, n. 51. In Tarīm *manzil* seemed the ordinary word for a room.

(i.e. inside) the area enclosed by its four (foundation [26]) walls (*tarbī'*), but without access to it (i.e. the main house), like *makhāzin* in the houses of the district. Do these enter into the general (act of) sale, or not ? '

To this the reply was in the affirmative in the case of these *makhāzin*, which would mean 'stores' or 'shops' [27] or the courtyards (reading *durū'* for *rū'*), and the walls (*al-ḥajāyā* [28]) connected with the house, if considered part of it, and with or without access to it, even if they have a door to the outside.

Another similar problem is concerned with the appurtenances of the house (*marāfiq al-bait*) which lie *outside* its four walls, and this figures also in Bā Makhramah's *Fatāwā* [29]

وقد سئل العلّامة عبد الله بَلْحَاجّ بما لفظه: الصّور[30] والاصوار المتّصلة بالدّيار عندنا - هل تدخل فى بيعها ؟ أجاب: — الّذى يظهر أنّها لا تدخل إلّا إن كان لها باب إلى الدّار. فإن كان لها باب إلى الدّار فهذا يظهر أنّه كحجرة متّصلة بالدّار، فلا يدخل، وفى حضرموت مثل ذلك إلّا أنّها تسمّى دُروعاً، ولكن لا تبنى إلّا للدّار، وفيها ما يحتاج إليه الدّار من حطب وغيره. فما أشكّ أنّه جزء من الدّار فهذا ما ظهر لى (انتهى). قلتُ: وما ذكر من أنّ لها أبواب [كذا] وباب آخر خارجها أنّها «كحجرة متّصلة بالدّار، فلا يدخل» — هذا إذا كان الدِرْع أو الوَصَر لا يُعدّ من توابع الدّار ومرافقها. فأمّا إذا كان يُعدّ من ذلك فلا يظهر به إلّا الدّخول — وإن كان له باب آخر إلى خارج . . .

An opinion is offered that the threshing floors or yards do not enter into the sale unless they have a door into the house which makes them like a room in the house. The comparison is made with *durū'*, courtyards, which are built only for the (use of) the house and contain firewood, etc., required by the house. Bā Makhramah disagrees with Bal-Ḥājj (a Ḥaḍramī) on the issue as to whether they are part of the house or not, and says it is really a matter of whether the *dir'* or threshing-floor (*waṣar*) is considered to be an appurtenance of the house or not that counts, even if it has a second door to the outside of the house. Bū Numaiy,[31] our near contemporary today, certainly takes these arguments into account in drafting his pleas of a contract of purchase—when he gives an example of a plea that a house has been purchased without 'its eastern or western store/shop (*al-makhzan al-sharqī aw al-qiblī*)'.[32]

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[26] So rendered after a phrase in the Judaeo-Arab house-deed.

[27] Landberg, *Ḥaḍramoût*, renders *makhzan* as *magasin*.

[28] This is assumed, though without authority of an informant, to be the plural of the Jirdān word *ḥājī* ' barrier ' ; see pt. I of this article, p. 21.

[29] op. cit., fol. 188a. The *marāfiq* of a dwelling fit to be provided for a wife comprise a roof (*saṭḥ*), lavatory (*ṭahārah*), stairs (*dirij*), and kitchen (*maṭbakh*) (op. cit., 170).

[30] This word seems unknown, and Bā Maṭraf suggests reading *wuṣūr*, plur. of *waṣar* (another plur. being *āṣār* which he calls a yard (*sāḥah*) for harvesting grain crops.

[31] op. cit., 7.

Abū Bakr . . . al-Khaṭīb [33] produces yet another variation of the problem where a man makes a bequest (*nadhr*) of a house with all that pertains to it in *shar'* and *'urf* in the way of:

أحرام وممرّات وحجاو ودروع وبئر ومصلّى وجابية . . . وجميع ما في الدار المعروف المذكور أعلا من ماعون وفرش ونحاس وأثاث.

The question arising is—does the furniture, etc., which is mentioned also include what is in the *murabba'āt* (detached) rooms and courts (*ḥajāw* [34]) which are outside the house?

The Ṣan'ānī Jews had workshops or premises that normally had no door leading to the living quarters, these former establishments being approached from the outside by their owners. Goitein [35] thinks that this was because it was not deemed safe that the interior of a house should be accessible from the street except through the main entrance. As, however, to judge by the query on stores/shops which do not communicate with the house, *supra*, it was custom commonly enough among the Arab population also, Goitein's suggestion is not entirely convincing—it might equally well be that the arrangement in Ṣan'ā', and I am sure many other towns, was made for other reasons of convenience or privacy.

In Jirdān, which 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir considers only partly to lie in Ḥaḍramawt, decisions in property cases would most likely be made by *'urf* or custom, but the *fatwās* of Bā Makhramah and other jurists do in some degree, reflect what that *'urf* was.

A conflict between property owners and the sulṭān, in one of the Ḥaḍramī towns, probably Tarīm or Saiwūn, is embodied in a *fatwā* which Abū Bakr . . . al-Khaṭīb (a Tarīmī) [36] pronounced, supporting the property owners, though unfortunately all names are suppressed. The point raised, in brief, is that the sulṭān had given orders to build in a wide street running between ancient houses and courtyards (*ḥawsh*)—can the owners claim between their properties and the new building the right to which the *sharī‘ah* entitles them, of a space of 8 *dhirā‘*, or, in customary usage (*ma‘rūf*), 10 *dhirā‘* in the streets and lanes (? *maṭārīq wa-maḍāyīq*), in order to preserve the amenities of ventilation and sun and daylight, and to stop his walls from coming up to their walls? A supplementary question inquires whether, in the case of a market-place (*sāḥat sūq*) bounded on all sides by houses and courtyards, the owners can pierce entrances (*mafāqir*), or build shops (*makhāzin*), or make openings (*kuwwāt*) on to this market-place. The owners consider that the sulṭān should return to the law of God (*ḥukm Allāh*) which they regard him as having transgressed—one can scarcely doubt that they must have mostly been saiyids!

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[32] In Ḥaḍramawt north and south are *najdī* and *baḥrī* respectively, in Yemen (cf. *Tarjī' al-aṭyār*, 46) *qiblah* and *'Adan*. Cf. Bā Sawdān, op. cit., 8, defining a property; as parts of a house to be sold with it he adds, علوها وسفلها وأوصارها.

[33] *Al-Fatāwā al-nāfi'ah*, 245.

[34] *Ḥajāw* is presumably the plural of *ḥijwah*, reported also by Landberg, *Ḥaḍramoût*, 360, as *ḥujwah/ḥajwah*. At Tarīm it was described as *dir'*, equivalent to *dawr* and *dāyir* (though the two latter appear to be the name of the wall applied to the enclosure as a whole), and to the *waṣar* of Daw'an, the common word for a threshing-floor, but perhaps in Daw'an it may sometimes be enclosed by a wall (?). Cf. *al-Fatāwā al-nāfi'ah*, 95, *khushm al-ḥijwah*, the corner of the court, 254, where *ḥijwah* is defined as *al-fanā' al-amāmī al-muḥawwaṭ al-tābi' li 'l-bait*, and 257 for a brief reference to *dir'*. Cf. 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir, *al-Shāmil*, Singapore, 1359/1940, 190, الطاق منزل أرضيّ يجعل أمامه فسحة لتجفيف التمر وغيره، وهو معروف بالجرن ويسمّيه أهل أسفل الوادي حيوه. *Ḥiywah/ḥaywah* would be Ḥaḍramī pronunciation for *ḥijwah* and *jurn* or *jarīn* is a threshing-floor.

[35] Carl Rathjens and S. D. Goitein, *Jewish domestic architecture in San'a, Yemen* (Oriental Notes and Studies, No. 7), Israel Oriental Society, 1957, 6. This is, of course, a very different type of dwelling from our *ḥuṣn*, but it might have affinities with non-tribal domestic buildings in such places as Mocha or al-Shiḥr were these to be studied.

[36] *Al-Fatāwā al-nāfi'ah*, 101.

Miscellaneous notes on builders, tools, materials

Outside al-Jinainah village we spoke with a builder called ‘Umar b. Ḥasan al-Ḥaddād. From what he said it was apparent that there is no stigma attaching to building work—this in Ḥaḍramawt would be a craft in which none but the class of *ḍa‘īfs* should employ themselves.[37] Here builders may belong to any of the groups like *mashāyikh, qabā’il, ḍu‘fā*, though saiyids were not mentioned, but in these districts their numbers are very small. Early Islamic history seems to indicate that the aristocratic Umaiyad ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān [38] would not take part with the Prophet and his Companions in handling the clay bats (*libnah*) to build the first mosque, while on the other hand the man of humble birth ‘Ammār b. Yāsir fell to with a will—‘Ammār, of course, in the Yemen, means a builder.[39]

The hereditary builders of Tarīm, the Bā Ḥuraish,[40] build in clay and stone, and work *nūrah*, plaster, and whitewash. ‘All stone is the specialty of Bā Ḥuraish’ (*Kull ḥajar khāṣṣ bi-Bā Ḥuraish*). Their religious attachment was described as to the Manṣab of al-Ramlah, al-‘Aidarūs, of the well-known saiyid family. The *mu‘allim*,[41] masterbuilder, is paid more than the rest, and in 1953 he received about 7 shillings per diem; it is probably he who gives the estimate (*qāwal*). The men are paid daily. Local architects in Tarīm made the plans, simple ground-plans without elevations. Estimates for building by 1953 were made in terms of a price per thousand *madrahs* or clay bats, and for work on upper storeys a higher rate was paid than for the ground floor. The Bā Ḥuraish also constructed dams/barrages (*sudūd*).

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[37] cf. R. B. Serjeant, ‘The cemeteries of Tarīm’, *Le Muséon*, LXII, 1–2, 1949, 151.

[38] A. Guillaume (tr.), *The life of Muhammad*, London, 1955, 229.

[39] Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, Cairo, 1959– , I, 168.

[40] cf. R. B. Serjeant, ‘Some irrigation systems in Ḥaḍramawt’, *BSOAS*, XXVII, 1, 1964, 54.

[41] In the Yemen a skilled craftsman in building or carpentry is called *usṭā* (*Tarjī‘ al-aṭyār*, 300). According to Syed Hamood Hason, *Arabic simplified*, [India ?], 1919, 397, 582, in Aden a mason is *usṭah/wusṭāh* (*asaṭīyah*).

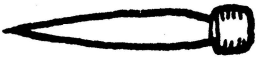

FIG. 1. Wooden pin (*rifqah*) for sewing palm-leaf matting on to the roof beams, forming a surface upon which to lay roof-clay (*ṭīn*). The *rifqah* is rounded and the cord is attached by winding it round the narrow part below the handle

A cord (*khaiṭ*) is employed to ensure the correct alignment of a wall as in plate II. In Tarīm a wooden pin (*rifqah*) (fig. 1) is used for sewing cord round beams. A stretcher, in Shibām called *ri'ih* is used there for carrying the clay bats. A curious passage in *al-Fawā'id al-sanīyah* [42] seems to refer to a sledge or a bullock-cart:

وقيل إنّه بُنى من طين أموالهم فى بيت جُبَيْر— كانوا ينقلون اللّبن على الحَرَادِيم، وهى آلة الهند، وتجرّه البقر. وكذلك الطين يطرح فى الجبول ويوضع عليها، وتجرّه أيضاً. وبنى أسفله بالآجر . . . وعاد بقى من عمارته الدّايِر ودعايم الصّفّ الأوّل، وصفتهنّ حِصِى صُبّ فى مِثَال.

' It is said that it (a mosque) was built of the clay from their properties in Bait Jubair (a little south of Tarīm)—they used to transport the clay bats on the *ḥarādīm*,[43] the Indian apparatus, which cattle used to draw. Clay was also put into ass-panniers and placed on them, and they would draw that too. The lower part was constructed in baked brick . . . , and the wall [44] of the building and columns of the first row still remain, consisting of small pebbles (mixed with lime (*nūrah*) and) cast in a mould.'

At the present time burnt brick construction in the districts east of Abyan is extremely rare, nor does one see traces of burnt brick in ruins. A brick-built mosque in Niṣāb is stated to have been constructed by a Yemeni, and this some hundreds of years ago. Brick burned red is commonly used in the cities of the southern Yemenite Tihāmah. It might be observed that in at least the last two decades of British rule in Aden the building workers were seemingly all Yemenis. In the Dathīnah district in the 1950's the builders were said to be mainly Yāfi'īs.

The making of the mixture of clay and straw for the clay bats (plate III (*a*)) is *tamdīr*,[45] and the clay or lime (*nūrah*) between them is known by the Classical Arabic term *milāṭ*.[46] 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir [47] states that in his home valley of Daw'an, ' The custom was in our village (*balad*, i.e. Qaidūn) that they should help someone who wished to build by carrying clay bats (*libin*) on their beasts to the place of building if this were requested of them '. As a piece of good-neighbourliness without payment, he apparently means, they did this. Again,[48] the earth/clay (*ṭīn*) for the clay brick (*madar*) was taken from the arable fields (*jurūb al-ḥarth*), either against payment, or as a gift. Where flood silt has from time to time to be removed to keep the level of the field constant for irrigation purposes this operation would have to be undertaken anyway—in fact the problem often is in certain places where to put the silt. From the language in which this is couched one would understand that these voluntary services were extended to everyone, but one wonders if the learned saiyid does not perhaps mean that they were extended to saiyids, not necessarily to others, since saiyid Manṣabs in some districts in Ḥaḍramawt, perhaps only in such *ḥawṭahs* as al-Ḥāwī in Tarīm, did, to some extent, receive voluntary services from craftsmen on occasion.

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[42] Aḥmad b. Ḥasan . . . al-Ḥaddād, *al-Fawā'id* . . . , fols. 103b–104a, MS described in *BSOAS*, XIII, 2, 1950, 296–7.

[43] This word does not figure in the Arabic lexicons consulted.

[44] *Dāyir*, a wall, synonyms *ḥāyil* and *sitrah*, for which last see *al-Fatāwā al-nāfi'ah*, 257, and glossary, below. *Tarjī' al-aṭyār*, 424, gives a plural, *dawā'ir*.

[45] 'Alawī b. Ṭāhir, *al-Shāmil*, 227.

[46] ibid., 96.

[47] ibid., 213.

Once more a *fatwā* question illustrates how the Ḥaḍramīs dealt over these matters with one another. The following question was put to Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb [49]:

' So-and-so asked us to give him permission for a *j rūrat yawm* (a day's drawing ? [50]) from the clay of the ruin (*ṭīn al-kharābah*) at al-Muḥaiḍarah [51] in Tarīm, belonging to the (our) grandfather So-and-so (presumably now deceased) in which a number of people have shares, there being absentee (*aghyāb*) brothers and the paternal uncle So-and-so, and children of paternal uncle So-and-so; and it cost us a *lakk*. We are afraid of committing a sin meriting punishment (*ḥarj*) '.

Clearly he means that if those present in Tarīm, owners of shares in this ruin, dispose of them in the absence of the others (and so many Ḥaḍramīs were abroad in those days and now), he will have transgressed the law. The *muftī*'s reply was very sensible. Most of al-Muḥaiḍarah, he said, which is in ruins, is of clay one part of which is indistinguishable from another, and so the questioner has a right to take his share of it even in the absence of the other owners. In fact al-Muḥaiḍarah was much developed after the second World War, especially in the early 1950's, though the *fatwā* cannot be later than the first decade after the first World War. The absentees would almost certainly be those Ḥaḍramīs who had emigrated to Indonesia or Malaya.

A wooden lock

A wooden lock specially made by 'Awaḍ Bā Ḥashwān,[52] a Tarīm carpenter, in 1947, is now in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology in Cambridge

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[48] ibid., 227.

[49] *Al-Fatāwā al-nāfi'ah*, 274.

[50] This word is not known to us, but the sense appears to be so.

[51] We lived in al-Muḥaiḍarah in 1947 (R. B. S.).

[52] cf. R. B. Serjeant, *Prose and poetry from Ḥaḍramawt*, London, 1951, 8. Since this article was written Werner Diem's wide-ranging and instructive article ' Untersuchungen zu Technik u. Terminologie der arabisch-islamischen Türschlösser ', *Der Islam*, L, 1, 1973, 98–156, with drawings of locks, has appeared.

(plate IV). It is called *qūlidih ḥimr*, i.e. a lock (*qūlidah*, pl. *qawālid*) of *ḥimr* which is *‘ilb*-wood (*Zizyphus spina-Christi*). This particular specimen is a *qūlidah ḥaqq mirwāḥ ‘arūs*, a lock for a bride's room. In Ḥaḍramawt a *mirwāḥ* is a room on the third floor in which the bride and groom sleep on the bridal-night. On the inside of the door of the bridal chamber there is a small wooden bolt called *ṣumba‘ah*.[53] Convention demands that when the last attendant, the *kūbarah*,[54] or women's hairdresser, tire-woman, leaves the bride, the groom must then immediately jump up and shoot the inside bolt home, in order to show how lively and active he is. Convention, on the other hand, requires that when he takes off the silver ornaments with which the bride is laden, he must do so with care, and lay them out neatly. The richly ornamented external lock, however, is mounted on the outside only to show honour, but it is not locked, except by the bride or groom when they leave the room next day.

The component parts of the Tarīm lock are differently named from those of the Jirdān locks. The upright part of the lock is known as *qūs͟himah* (pl. *qawās͟him*),[55] and the bar or bolt as *mijarrah*. The teeth in the lock above the bolt are *ḥand͟hūlah* (pl. *ḥanād͟hīl*), and the holes in the *mijarrah* which receive them are called *k͟hadar al-aḍrās*, though, as the pegs on the key (*iqlīd*) are known as *ḍurūs* or *aḍrās*, they are really named ‘ the peg-holes ’ after them. In Ḥaḍramawt the name of the house is sometimes carved on the lock.

A Tarīm proverb says, *Mā ḥad misik qūs͟himat bābak*, lit. ‘ No one has grasped the front of your lock ’, i.e. No one has knocked at your door, meaning that nobody has bothered you. Saif b. Ḥusain al-Qu‘aiṭī [56] reports another proverb, *Mā kull ‘ūd iqlīd* ‘ Not every stick is a key ’. Landberg, however, quotes a proverb with a sense diametrically opposite ! [57]

Round towers in the Zaidī highlands of the Yemen

On Jabal Wis͟hḥah, near al-Qārah, Imām al-Badr's headquarters during much of the Egyptian occupation of the Yemen, may be seen round towers of several storeys, as also in the Ṣarārah district of Jabal ‘Ayāl Yazīd north of Ṣan‘ā’, and in other places. These are really fortified dwellings, built in stone, quite different from the mud towers of north-eastern Yemen and Najrān,[58] sometimes round, sometimes square. Al-Ānisī [59] says of a powerful Zaidī Imām who brought the Jabal and other districts to heel,

كم قَصِيب وكم دوائر وكم حصن حَصِينْ
صيّرتهُنْ جيوشِهْ خَرابَهْ

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[53] cf. Landberg, *Ḥaḍramoût*, 635, ‘ verrou en bois ’.

[54] cf. R. B. Serjeant, ‘ Recent marriage legislation from al-Mukallā with notes on marriage customs ’, *BSOAS*, xxv, 3, 1962, 487.

[55] cf. part I of this article, *BSOAS*, xxxviii, 1, 1975, p. 4, n. 20.

[56] *Al-Amt͟hāl wa 'l-aqwāl al-Ḥaḍramiyah*, 145.

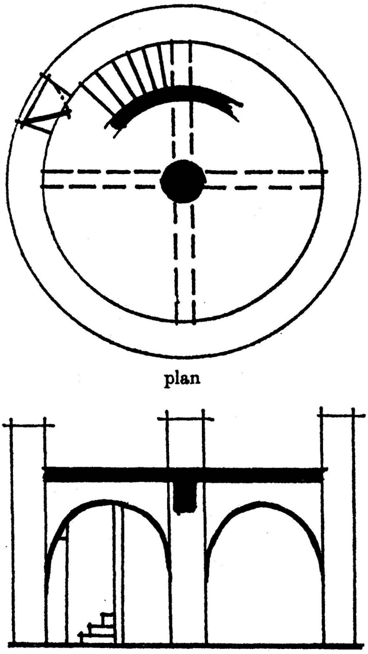
[57] *Ḥaḍramoût*, 350. Any wood is suitable for making a key.

[58] The distinctive style of northern mud architecture can be perceived in Khalil Abou el-Nasr's ‘ Architecture in Asir ’, *Middle East Forum* (Beirut), April 1962, 29–32.

[59] *Tarjī‘ al-aṭyār*, 424 ; a *qaṣabah* is a *nawbah mudawwarah*.

‘How many (round) towers, how many walls, how many a strong fort
Have his armies made a ruin!’

The tower seen in Ṣarārah was called *qaṣabah* (plur. *qaṣīb*) and was constructed with four internal arches (*‘uqūd*) springing from a central column (fig. 2) within the circle formed by the walls of the tower.



plan

section

FIG. 2. Round tower (*quṣabah*) at Ṣarārah of Jabal ‘Ayāl Yazīd (Yemen) constructed on four arches (*‘uqūd*) springing from a central column

The single door to the tower called *‘adan* has on the left and immediately inside the building a stairway running round the inside of the circular wall. A *makhtā* is a passage on the ground floor. The men’s room is known as *dīwān*, and the *suqwaf* is the part allotted to the womenfolk. The *jibā/jubā* is the roof which is *mushawshawafah* provided with a battlemented wall (*al-tishwāf al-ḥarbī*); under the *jibā* [60] is stored the grain (*ṭa‘ām*). A *mawshaq* (plur. *mawāshiq*) is a loophole [61] for firing through at attackers, and a *ṭāqah* (plur. *ṭiyāq*) is a window. The place where the animals are kept is called *al-ḥarr*, probably outside the tower itself.

A square tower here (*hānā*, here, as they pronounce it), would be *bait murabba‘ ‘alā arba‘ah arkān*.

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[60] Hayyim Habshush, *Travels in the Yemen*, ed. S. D. Goitein, Jerusalem, 1941, 83, writes it *juba’*.

[61] cf. Sayed Hamood Hason, op. cit., 578.

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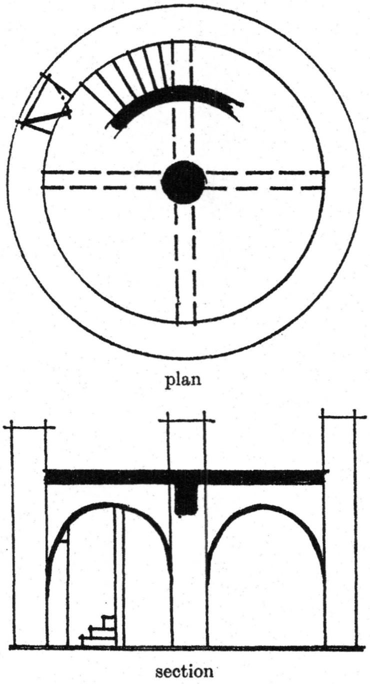

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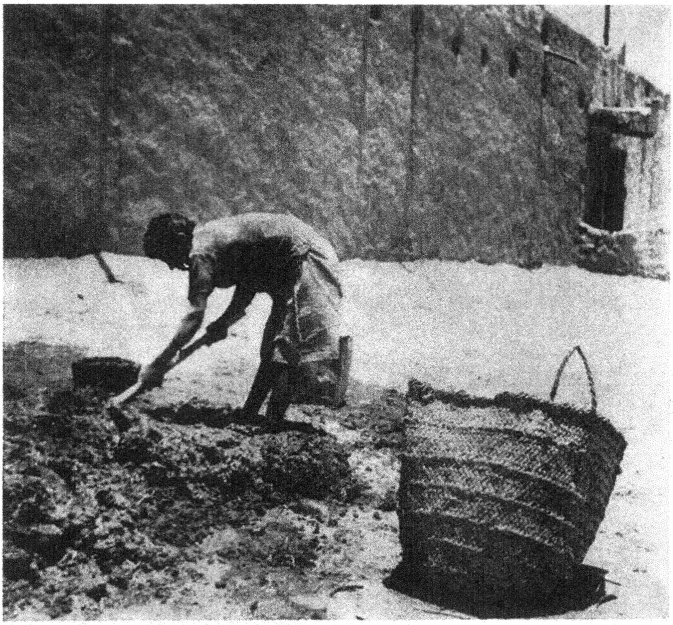
Plate I

For description, see p. 295

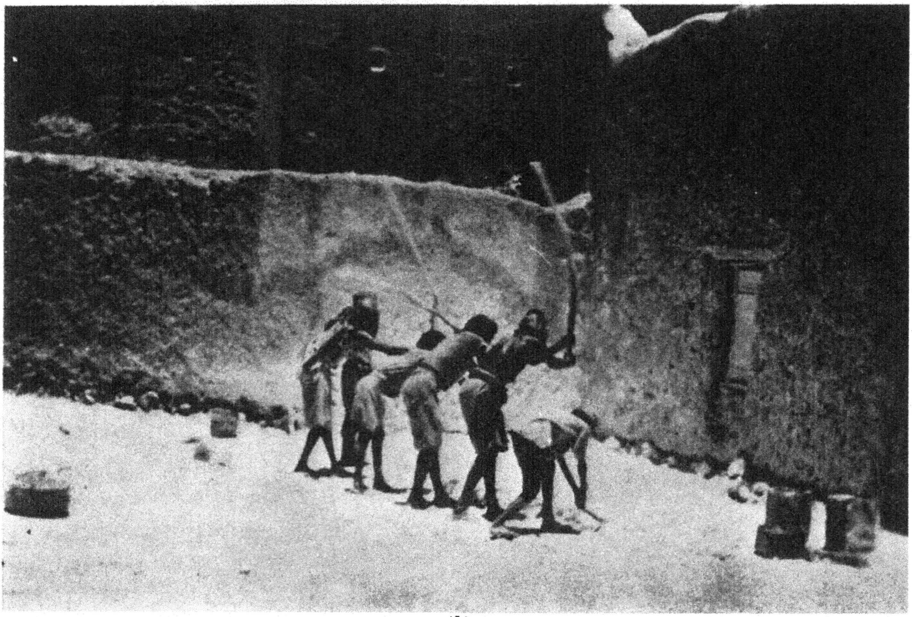
Plate II

For description, see p. 295

PLATE III



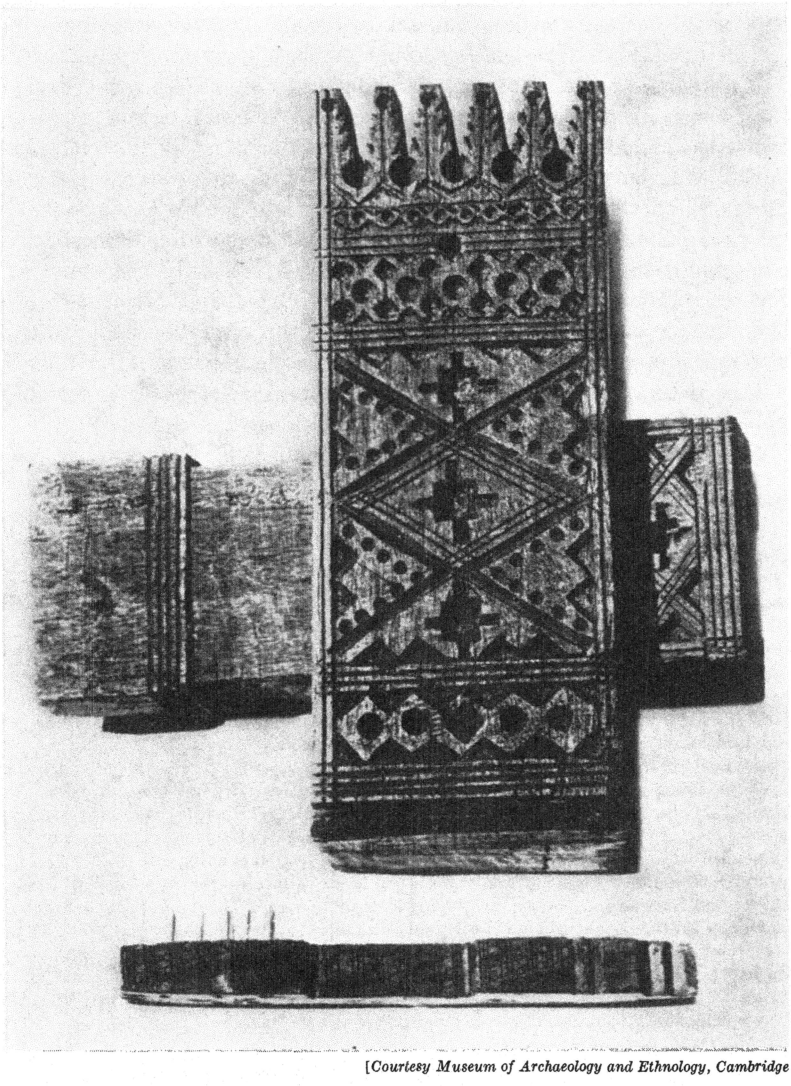
(*a*)



(*b*)

FOR DESCRIPTIONS, SEE P. 295

Plate IV



[*Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge*

Ḥaḍramī lock with key in position

Though basically this is an account of a field study, it has seemed appropriate while writing it up, to include data collected on various occasions, including lists of technical building terms from several districts, or culled from Arabic works unlikely to be at the disposal of most readers. On the other hand no attempt has been made to ransack systematically such well-known publications as Hayyim Habshush's account of his journey to Najrān in 1870.[62] The systematic study of Yemenite architecture, the excellent little Rathjens-Goitein volume apart, is still to be made, and it is a field rich in promise. Of course the architecture these two authors describe is not distinctively Jewish in the main, but properly only traditional Yemeni architecture. Habshush's own house survives and is pointed out to visitors to Ṣan'ā'. Let it be said that the description of Abrahah's church in Ṣan'ā' with its courses of different coloured stone and triangular patterns is very like that of present-day Yemen.[63] When the technical terms here are compared with Landberg's account [64] of the operations in building, the dialect of Jirdān in this respect is similar to that of settled Ḥaḍramawt of the interior. On the other hand the terms used by Muḥ. b. Aḥ. al-Ḥajarī, *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, Ṣan'ā', 1361/1942, or Ettore Rossi in his publications, differ greatly from those of Ḥaḍramawt.

Additionally to those persons who made it possible for us to execute our

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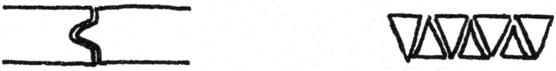
[62] Data in R. B. Serjeant, ' Building and builders ', are not repeated though complementary to this study. A more general article, D. B. Doe, ' Home is a husn ', *The Architect and Building News*, VI, 3, 1970, 26–32, may also be consulted, but we were unable to see R. Kasdorff, *Haus und Hauswesen im alten Arabien (bis zur Zeit des Chalifen Othman)*, Halle, 1914, apparently a dissertation of 71 pp.

[63] cf. al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, in F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte und Beschreibung der Stadt Mekka*, Leipzig, 1858, 88–9. The church wall built by Abrahah al-Ḥabashī in Ṣan'ā' was square in plan (*murabba' mustawī al-tarbī'*) whereas the site, called Ghurqat al-Qalīs, of the ancient church in the old town shown today is a shallow circular pit (*ghurqah*). Abrahah's church was 60 *dhirā'* high. Its raised area (*kibs*, lit. ' earth placed on an area to level it ', etc.) inside was 10 *dhirā'* high, and it was approached by marble steps. There was a wall surrounding the church, presumably forming an enceinte, 100 *dhirā'* from it. This description reminds one of the circular wall at the Ma'rib temple. The wall was constructed of stones called in the Yemen *jurūb*, carved/ painted (? *manqūshah*) fitted into each other (*muṭābaqah*) so that a needle could not enter between them, stuck close together (*muṭabbaqah*), 20 *dhirā'* in height. Between (the courses of ?) *jurūb* stones he put triangular stones like a camel's hump (*sharaf*), entering into each other, of red, white, yellow, and black stone, and *sāsam* wood between each course (*sāf*), round of head (*rās*), thick of timber, like a man's side, protruding from the building. The *jurūb* appear to have had the shape (fig. 3 (*a*)), and the courses of coloured stone seem to have the shape (fig. 3 (*b*)). Over this a marble frieze was placed, carved, and projecting a *dhirā'* beyond the building, and 2 *dhirā'* in height. Over this was set shining black stone from Nuqum mountain, then shining yellow stone, and on top of all, white stone (perhaps that called *balaq*). These and many other details correspond closely to north Yemenite architecture as seen today.



(*a*) (*b*)

FIG. 3. Recent examination of the Ghurqat al-Qalīs site shows that its dimensions are not inconsistent at least with a dome set on a base 30 *dhirā'* square at the east end of the nave

[64] *Ḥaḍramoût*, 394 f. Cf. L. W. C. van den Berg, *Le Hadhramout et les colonies arabes*, Batavia, 1886, or 1969 reprint, 62 f.

work in Jirdān we are indebted to Dr. ‘Abdullāh Maqṭarī, Shaikh Muḥ. ‘Abd al-Qādir Bā Maṭraf, Saiyid ‘Alawī b. ‘Abdullāh, and Dr. M. A. Ghanem for answering our queries, as also to Dr. G. Bushnell of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, for permission to reproduce photographs of the locks there. All drawings and photographs are by Brian Doe unless stated to the contrary.

General list of terms connected with building

اِخْتِطاط Yem., *Tarjī‘ al-aṭyār*, 74, defined as *al-shurū‘ fī ’l-binā’ wa-waḍ‘ ‘alāmāt*, marking out a building. Class. Arabic.

با جَناح Tarīm, precise meaning uncertain, but as *janāḥ* means a fourth storey room, it is probably a building with such a room.

با دَرْف Tarīm, door with a single leaf.

باب أَمْلَس Tarīm, door with no horizontal bars on the back of it for strength.

باب مُزَفَّر Tarīm, a door with horizontal bars (*zūfar*) on it.

بَرْحَه (pl. ات) Ḥaḍramawt, courtyard for sitting in the evening in front of the house. Cf. *rawḥah*.

بُونِي Tarīm, Saiwūn, door. e.g. بوني الرقاد a door on the stairs, or, more precisely, leading off the stairs.

تِجْوَاب Yem., the wall round the roof of a house for privacy, and/or to prevent women seeing over it. Cf. Rossi, *Terminologia*, 353.

تَقْدُومَه Ḥaḍramawt (al-Shiḥr), façade of a building.

تَنْوِير Aden, etc., whitewashing. S. H. Hason, 671. Cf. *rushūsh*.

تَيْرُومَه (pl. تَيَارِم) Ḥaḍramawt, roof of upper rooms, not surrounded by a wall; or roof (*saqf*) of the stairs leading to the roof-top (*saṭḥ*).

تَيْسُورَه Tarīm. a syn. of *‘arūs al-riqād* (q.v.).

ثُرَيَّا Yem., a type of window with tracery.

جَذْوَه Ṣan‘ā’, the *dakkah* or platform around the Jāmi‘ mosque at the place of the *sail*-flood which used to wash against it. See *sājil*.

جَهْوَه (pl. جِهِي) Jīzān, Saudi Arabia, stone hut.

حُجْرَة (pl. حجر, ات) Yem., *Tarjī‘ al-aṭyār*, 120, and Goitein and Rathjens, 77, the latter calling it *ḥijrah*, an inner open court, but the former a central place between two rooms like a passage. Cf. Rossi, *Terminologia*, *ḥajrah* ‘portico’.

حزام Ṣan‘ā’, course of decoration between two storeys.

خُشْم (pl. أَخْشام) syn. ربع (q.v.) Tarīm, the outside or external corner (*rukn*) of a house. Cf. *al-Fatāwā al-nāfi‘ah*, 257.

خُلُص Tarīm etc., hole in the middle of a window-shelf to which the shelf itself slopes to allow water to drain to the outside of the house if it should fall on the shelf.

خَيْش Ḥaḍramawt of the coast. Clay bats or stones set on the top of a wall, leaning against each other to form an open zigzag pattern (fig. 4). Khaish can also mean a metal grille.

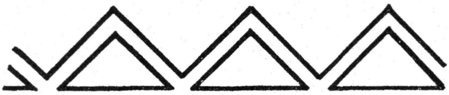


Fig. 4

دَرْب N. Yem., Kuhlān district, a tower-fort, syn. *nawbah.*

دَفاه Tarīm, round cover, with handle to cover the *tannūr/tinnār* bread-oven made of clay pottery.

دَكّة platform outside a building. For data upon, cf. Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī, *al-Fatāwā al-kubrā al-fiqhīyah*, Cairo, 1938; and *al-Fatāwā al-nāfi‘ah*, 101.

دَيْل (pl. دُيول), Yem., course, row of stones.

رَبْع Tarīm, outside corner of a house. syn. khushm (q.v.).

رَدّه Tarīm, passage on top of a house.

رُشُوش Tarīm, Aden, etc., whitewashing. Cf. Landberg, *Ḥaḍramoût*, 406 *passim*. S. H. Hason, 671, syn. *tanwīr.*

رفْقه Tarīm, a peg or pin (see fig. 1).

رُقْدَه Ḥaḍramawt, *ruqdat al-qahwah*, coffee-hearth, with slightly raised dais on which coffee-maker sits.

رِكْبَه (pl. رِكَب) a column of clay, opposed to a *sahm*, column of wood. One says, ‘A reception room with such and such a number of columns’ (مَحْضَره عَلى كَم رِكَب).

رَوْحَه Tarīm, court for sitting in the evening situated in front of the house.

رَوْضَه Tarim, corner inside house, or room thereof.

رُوَيْجَعَه Tarīm, small store (*makhzan*), under the inside or outside stair of a house.

زَقْطُوط (pl. زَقاطِيط) Aden, lane. S. H. Hason, 573.

زُوفَر Tarīm, also زافر (pl. زوافر), horizontal bar on the back of a door or shutter.

زَوْق Tarīm, projecting cornice between storeys.

ساجِل Ṣan'ā' and district, flat rain-water drainage course running directly off the roof down the wall, constructed of *qaḍāḍ*, a sort of mortar composition containing small stones. A *qaḍāḍ* course can last 500 years. See *jadhwah.*

ساس has a plural also سِيسان, S. H. Hason, 555.

سَبِخَة الحِيطان Ḥaḍramawt. Of a house (*dār*), containing salt in the clay of which it is constructed, salty walls, a fault. Muḥsin Bū Numaiy, *Tashīl al-da'āwī*, 13.

سَتَرَه/سُتْرَه (pl. سَتَر) Ḥaḍramawt, wall. Cf. Rossi, *Terminologia*, 357.

سَحْسُوح (pl. سَحَاسِيح) Ḥaḍramawt, a place usually behind the *dār* on to which waste water from the kitchens or lavatories pours; it may be inside the dwelling. Another source calls it a lavatory or washing place also.

سَرْع Ṣan'ā', a course of stones.

سِقَالَه (pl. سَقَايِل) Aden, scaffold. S. H. Hason 630, from Greek σχάλα.

سِيرِى Ta'izz, a wooden tripod with cross-bars, forming a type of ladder, used in mosques.

شِمْشَه/شُمْسِه Tarīm, an open place in the middle of a house, فى مِشْنات البيت, the latter phrase explained as *fī wasṭ al-dār*.

شَمْسِيَّه (pl. شَمَاسِى) Yem., Ta'izz, etc., open part of the open court of a mosque.

ضِبْر(ه) Tarīm, Mukallā, the inside corner in a house, e.g. of a room, contrasted with *khushm*, etc. Syn. *zāwiyah*. *Gloss. daṯ.*, 2165. Cf. Rossi, *Terminologia*, 354, *dubr*, with *dāl*.

ضَيْقَه (pl. ضِيَق) Ḥaḍramawt, narrow passage on ground floor of a house from main door (*siddah*).

طَارُوط Upper Yem., covered way above a street connecting one house with another. Cf. Rossi, *Terminologia*, 354, *ṭārūd*. 'portico della moschea.'

طَرّاحَه Jīzān, Saudi Arabia, mud floor of *tukul* type huts ornamented in whorls of clay, made by women.

طَرَحَه Upper Yem., storey of a house. Cf. Rossi, *Terminologia*, 356, *ṭarḥah* 'pieno di casa'.

عارِض (pl. عُرْضان) al-Shiḥr, a small beam. Cf. *'arrāḍī*.

عَتَبَة الخَلْفه (pl. ات) Ḥaḍramawt, MS *Manāqib Bā 'Abbād* (possession of the late Saiyid Ṣāliḥ b. ʻAlī al-Ḥāmidī), lower strake of wood of window lintel. Cf. Rossi, *Terminologia*, 352.

عَرَّاضِي (pl. ات) Aden, rafter. S. H. Hason, 617.

عَروس الرِقاد Tarīm, the plastered panel, sometimes with decoration, approximately three feet in height which runs up the wall of a staircase, above the stairs.

عِضاده e.g. عضادة الباب Ḥaḍramawt, MS Bā Makhramah, *Fatāwā*, collected works, a single volume of which was seen in Dathīnah, wooden side part of a door.

عُكْرَه (pl. عُكَر) Tarīm, a small circular window set over an ordinary rectangular window.

علالى Yemen, *Tarjī' al-aṭyār*, 158, 363, described as شرفات الدور.

غَيْله Tarīm, first storey room, e.g. غيله على ثلاثه سَوَاقِط مِقَبِّل a first storey room on (with ?) three beams, facing north. غيله على شِرْقَتَيْن a first storey room on (with ?) two beams running from wall to wall.

فاضِلة Ḥaḍramawt, Ṣāliḥ b. Ghālib al-Quʻaiṭī, *al-Riḥlat al-sulṭānīyah*, Cheribon, 1370/1950–1, a *majlis* like a reception room (*maḥḍarah*). Cf. Landberg, *Ḥaḍramoût*, 398, 'chambre'. Cf. Rossi, *Terminologia*, 357, *fawāḍil* 'il piano'.

قُبَع (pl. قَنَابِع) Al-Shiḥr, crenellations of a mosque. Muḥ. b. ʻAbd al-Qādir Bā Maṭraf quoted the following saying, من شاف القنابع والخيش ظن ان عندنا من المال فيش والواقع ان ما عندنا الّا قناعه فى العيش.

قرقاعه Ḥaḍramawt, circular brass or iron door-knocker.

كابه (pl. ات) Yem., wall buttress. *Gloss. dat.* gives parallel senses. S. H. Hason, 603, calls it 'pillar'.

كَشَارِى Tarīm, pillars (no singular), supporting an arch (*ʻakf*).

كَفَاه Tarīm, lintel.

كَلّاب (pl. كَلالِيب) Ḥaḍramawt, hook, for hanging clothes, etc., upon.

كَيْد Upper Yem., flat roof of a house. Syn. *jubā*.

لِهِى Ḥaḍramī pronunciation of لهج, the shutter of a window (*khalfah*). Cf. Rossi, *Terminologia*, 356, window.

مَاد (pl. مَوَاد) e.g. ماد الرَّيْم a little passage or entry into a room (fig. 5, p. 292).

مِثْناه (pl. ات) Tarīm, Saiwūn, open place in middle of a house. Bā Maṭraf says *al-mathnāh* is the interior of anything, not the same as *shumsih*, an open court in the middle of a house.

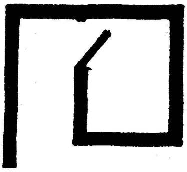


FIG. 5

مِحْراب ‘Awlaqī. Seen in Ma‘nī shaikhdom, a *miḥrāb* moulded in the mortar-like plaster of the floor in flat relief, the pointed end showing the direction of Mecca.

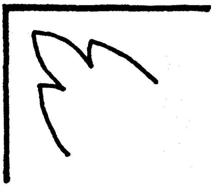


FIG. 6

مَحْمَر (pl. مَحَامِر) Aden, rafter. S. H. Hason, 617.

مُدَرَّج Yem., as نَقِيل مدرّج, a pass in the mountains upon which a stone stairway has been constructed.

مُرَبَّعَه Tarīm, ground floor room, syn. *maisamah*. *Al-Fatāwā al-nāfi‘ah*, 269, calls it a room on the first (ground) or second floor.

مَرْبوع الرِّقاد Tārīm, the square quarter-landing between two flights of steps at right angles to each other.

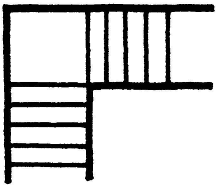


FIG. 7

مَرْصوص تَمام properly built; of stone and mortar, Cf. Landberg, *Ḥaḍramoût*, 590, *raṣṣ* ‘ ordonner l’une chose sur l’autre ’.

مَرُو Jīzān, Saudi Arabia, a white marble-like stone sometimes used for decoration (*zīnah*) in a *jahwah* (q.v.).

مَرْوَة Yem., a place in a house for animal fodder, agricultural implements. Cf. al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, II, ed. Muḥ. . . . al-Akwa‘, Cairo, 1967, 5. Stone shed for animals (Ṣan‘ā’ district).

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مَسْروقه Tarīm, a small room between two larger rooms, or a cupboard (*khazānah*), storeroom, made from the area of one of the larger rooms. It was described as bigger than a *murabbaʻah* but smaller than a *maḥdarah*, reception room.

مسقط Ṣanʻā' region, syn. of *maṭal* and *manṭal*. Cf. Rossi, *Terminologia*, 357, from Wuṣāb district.

مَصْلُوله Yem., Jiblah, paved—of the lane into the town. Cf. Rossi, *Terminologia*, 353.

مِصْناع (pl. مَصَانِيع) Ḥaḍramawt, small cupboard for keeping things arranged inside the wall.

مَضْرَب Ḥaḍramawt, place where building lime (*nūrah*) is beaten out, or millet. The pole with which it is beaten has the same name, and *maḍrab* is also the name of the pole used to measure or survey land.

مَطْروق بالنُّوره Ḥaḍramawt. Cf. Landberg, *Ḥaḍramoût*, 645.

مَطَل Ṣanʻā' area, oblong machicolated masonry box projecting over the main door of a house for throwing or shooting at would-be hostile entry. Cf. *masqaṭ* and *manṭal*.

مَعْزُوب Dathīnah, a kind of hut of clay (*ṭīn*) and millet stalk (*qaṣab*), etc.

مُعَقَّد Tarīm, with arches.

مَغْسَى (pl. مَغَاسِي) Ḥaḍramawt, two parallel poles fixed from wall to wall of a room at a suitable height to hang the folded bedding of the household to preserve it.

مِغْواس Tarīm, a lane.

مَقْصوره Tarīm, passage over the street from one house to another. It is also explained (with a pl. *maqāṣīr*) as the place specially allocated at the lowest part of the house for the kitchen and other purposes such as the place for grinding and pounding of wheat. Another Ḥaḍramī explanation is that it is a room looking out on to the street, in Aden called *manẓarah*.

منطل Ṣanʻā', syn. of *maṭal* and *masqaṭ* (q.v.).

مَهْ Ḥaḍramawt, Bā Makhramah, op. cit., states that in the colloquial usage (*ʻurf*) of the district *al-mah* means *ʻiḍādat al-bāb*.

مَوْثِر Yem., stated to be the same as the Ḥaḍramī *sās*, stone foundation of a house. Cf. al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, II, ed. Muḥ. al-Akwaʻ, 8.

مَوْفَر (pl. مَوَافِر) Ḥaḍramawt. When a wall is being built in stages, each two *dhirāʻ* (approx. three feet) high is called *mawfar*. Another source says—ten or more clay bats (*libnah*) high of a wall.

مَيْسَمَه Tarīm, synonymous almost with *murabba'ah* (q.v.). *Al-Fatāwā al-nāfi'ah*, 269, has an interesting description of a *maisamah* and *murabba'ah*,
رَيم حقّ مَيْسَمَه ملاصِقه لمُسْلِف مُشاع ومُربَّعه للغير، وللريّم المذكور
مفقر مؤسّس قبل القسمة وممرّه من رقاد المربّعه حقّ الغير . An enclosed roof belonging to a ground-floor room adjoining a side/back door held in common, and a first floor room belonging to a second party, the afore-mentioned enclosed roof having an access set up before the division (of the whole house), the way to which (access) is the stair of the first floor room belonging to the second party.

وَضِيع Tarīm, a little store-room. syn. *khazānah*.

يَالِي Al-Ḥāmī, Ḥaḍramī coast, perpendicular wooden lattice of window.

Some Baiḥān architectural terms

The following words were given by Amīr Ṣāliḥ of Baiḥān as applying to a room in the old *ḥuṣn* at Nuqūb.

مِرْدَم top part of door-frame. Landberg, *Ḥaḍramoût*, 587, 'seuil', and *Gloss. dat*.

لَالَه posts of frame of door. Cf. Rossi, *Terminologia*, 354, لوالى 'stipiti della porta'.

مِعْقَم base of wooden frame of door. Landberg, *Ḥaḍramoût*, 660, 'seuil de la porte', and *Gloss. dat*. Cf. Rossi, *Terminologia*, 354, ground under the door.

كَوَّه a small square hole in a door through which the hand is inserted to open it.

لَهَج Aden مِشْكَه, a wooden window shutter. Cf. *Gloss. dat*.

مِرْكَب, pl. مَرَاكِب, the main beams of a ceiling.

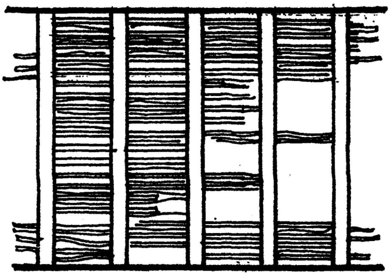

FIG. 8. Ceiling in the old *ḥuṣn* at Nuqūb (Baiḥān) showing the main beams (*marākib*) with small sticks (*qīr*) above them

قِير small sticks running over the *marākib*, and at right angles to them, to form a base for the clay roof above them. Cf. Rossi, *Terminologia*, 357.

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هِدَح the clay bench in Baiḥān houses.

سِيَاع a pole across the end of a room. Cf. Rossi, *Terminologia*, 355, مِسْوَاع (pl. مَسَاوِع), ‘legni trasversali appoggiati sulle travi’.

زَفِيف clay and sticks running between the *siyā‘* and the wall, so that the whole forms a clay shelf.

خَلَال a wall peg. *Gloss. daṯ.*, *khilāl*.

مِسْرِيب probably the same as *mizrāb*, gutter, but sense not noted.

DESCRIPTIONS OF PLATES

Plate I. Salt mine at ‘Ayādh. The entrance to the mine is by the black area to the right. Salt poured into heaps is being bagged for transport on the couched camel, each heap belonging to an individual owner and distinguished by his own mark, a piece of palm leaf. (R. B. S.)

Plate II. Building a wall using the cord (*khaiṭ*) probably in Dathīnah. (Information Office, Aden, 1957.)

Plate III (*a*). Puddling mud and straw to make clay brick-bats at Baiḥān in 1958 using a *misḥāh*, basket (*maḥfarah*) of chopped straw, and *tanak* of water. (R. B. S.)

Plate III (*b*). Beating out lime (*nūrah*) for use in building in Wādī Yashbum, the action being called *ṣabāṭah*. The workers flail the lime in unison—to the rhythm of verses sung to this work. (R. B. S.)